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Gramatikalizace adjektiva "like": procesy a jejich hranice

Grammaticalisation of the adjective "like": processes and boundaries

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Declaration of authorship

I hereby declare that the following MA thesis is my own work for which I used only the sources and literature mentioned.

In Prague May 7, 2017

Signature

ABSTRACT

This thesis provides a description of the incipient grammaticalization of *like* between the end of the Old English period and the beginning of the Middle English period. During the examined time period, *like* was gradually losing the attributes that defined its categorial status as an adjective and began to function as the head of a prepositional phrase. Since the process of grammaticalization is inherently gradual, both the adjectival and the prepositional *like* were found to coexist as a result of the process of layering. Therefore, 10 parameters were established to determine which instances of *like* were more adjective-like and which were more preposition-like. The empirical part is based on the analysis of the 371 instances of the OE variants of *like* found in *The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose* (YCOE) and the 232 instances of the ME variants of *like* found in *The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, second edition* (PPCME2). The sample is examined from the morphological as well as the syntactic point of view. Compared to the YCOE corpus, the findings in the PPCME2 corpus revealed a more advanced stage of grammaticalization. While some of the changes are not specific to *like* and affected other adjectives as well (the loss of inflectional endings, the fixed position and the emergence of periphrastic forms), other changes, such as the restriction of the distribution of *like* in the attributive position and the expansion of the inventory of verbs are unique to the development of *like* and seemed to have been caused by grammaticalization. The attribute of gradability and the capacity to take degree modifiers did not prove to be essential in the process of grammaticalization of *like* from an adjective into a preposition, since *like* continues to be gradable when functioning as a preposition as well. The persistence of this feature can be attributed to the scalar notion of similarity. The ability to coordinate with other adjectives likewise did not prove to be affected by the categorial status of *like*.

Key words:

grammaticalization, like, adjective, preposition, layering, Old English, Middle English

ABSTRAKT

Predmetom tejto diplomovej práce je analýza začínajúcej gramatikalizácie prídavného mena *like* v období od konca starej angličtiny do začiatku strednej angličtiny. Počas tohto časového obdobia, *like* postupne strácalo atribúty, ktoré definovali jeho kategorický status ako prídavného mena a začalo sa používať ako predložka. Keďže proces gramatikalizácie je vo svojej podstate postupný, prípady, keď bolo *like* viac podobné prídavnému menu, koexistujú s prípadmi, keď malo viac charakter predložky. Táto koexistencia je výsledok procesu layering. Z toho dôvodu bolo stanovených 10 parametrov, aby sa určilo, ktoré použitie *like* bolo viac adjektívne, a ktoré bolo viac predložkové. Empirická časť je založená na analýze 371 prípadov použitia staroanglickej formy *like*, ktoré boli získané z *The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose* (YCOE) a 232 prípadov použitia stredoanglickej formy *like* nájdených v *The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, second edition* (PPCME2). Vzorka sa skúmala z morfológického i zo syntaktického hľadiska. V porovnaní s YCOE korpusom, zistenia v korpuse PPCME2 odhalili pokročilejšiu etapu gramatikalizácie. Zatiaľ čo niektoré zo zmien nie sú špecifické pre *like* a ovplyvnili aj iné staroanglické prídavné mená (strata koncoviek, stabilná pozícia a výskyt analytických foriem prirovnania), ďalšie zmeny, ako napríklad obmedzenie distribúcie *like* v atributívnej funkcii a rozšírenie zoznamu slovies, ktoré sa spájajú s *like* sú špecifické pre vývoj predložky *like*. V procese gramatikalizácie sa nepreukázala zmena atribútov stupňovania a výskytu s príslovkovými určeniami miery, keďže predložka *like* je taktiež stupňovateľná. Pretrvávanie tejto funkcie možno pripísať skalárnej podstate významu podobnosti. Schopnosť koordinovať s inými adjektívami sa taktiež nepreukázala ako ovplyvnená zmenou kategoriálneho statusu *like*.

Kľúčové slová:

gramatikalizácia, *like*, prídavné meno, predložka, layering, Stará angličtina, Stredná angličtina

ABBREVIATIONS

A	Adjective
AmE	American English
BTAD	<i>The Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary</i>
EME	Early Modern English
IA	Intransitive adjective
NP	Noun phrase
ME	Middle English
MED	<i>The Middle English Dictionary</i>
OE	Old English
OED	<i>The Oxford English Dictionary</i>
P	Preposition
PPCME2	<i>The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, second edition (PPCME2)</i>
PDE	Present day English
PP	Prepositional phrase
S	Subject
TA	Transitive adjective
V	Verb
WO	Word order
YCOE	<i>The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose</i>

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1. Introduction

It is not unusual for words to function as more than one word class. Due to the typological change of English from a synthetic into an analytical language, English words have now for centuries been even more prone to be reanalyzed as other parts of speech, since there are no inflectional endings that would restrict the movement between the respective parts of speech.

Despite the fact that English lexis is traditionally classified into ten parts of speech, the boundaries between the respective word classes are not always clear-cut. While the prototypical members have all of the features that distinguish one class from the other one, the peripheral members lack some of these features as well as share attributes with the other classes, resulting in the ambiguity of their categorial status.

There is probably no other word in the English language which has undergone as many developments and the categorial status of which is as dubious as *like*. Initially an adjective, this highly multifunctional word can function as an adverb¹, a preposition or a conjunction² in Present Day English (PDE). In addition to the aforementioned functions, *like* can nowadays fulfill a number of nonstandard functions as a quotative, a hedge or a filler³. The identity of the forms is of no coincidence here, as they are all products of a process of language change called grammaticalization. Moreover, there are other homomorphous items such as the verbal *like* which are, however, part of a separate etymological link.

The concern of this work is to analyze grammaticalization of *like* from an adjective into a preposition which took place between the Old English (OE) and the end of the Middle English (ME) period and therefore represents chronologically the oldest development that *like* has undertaken. It goes without saying that the synchronic characteristics of *like* cannot be understood without the reference to the diachronic developments that gave rise to these grammatical structures. The aforementioned two functions of *like* are not just coincidental but are functionally as well as formally related to one another through the process of grammaticalization.

¹ The adverbial use of *like* also played a role in the grammaticalization of *like* into a preposition.

² The conjunctive *like* is still considered nonstandard in some grammar books, especially in *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English language*. According to Quirk et al. (1985: 1111), “there are prescriptive objections to the use of *like* as a subordinating manner or comparison conjunction, but it is commonly used as such in informal style, especially in AmE”.

³ The ubiquity of these linguistic devices has made them undesirable features in Standard English.

The etymological link between the respective uses of *like* causes frequent difficulties in distinguishing between the adjectival and prepositional *like*, due the coexistence of both functions of *like*. The gradualness of the process plays a pivotal role in grammaticalization, since the old functions come to coexist with the new ones. As this coexistence often leads to ambiguity, parameters needed to be established in order to distinguish between the cases when *like* is still largely adjectival and when it has already acquired some attributes typical for prepositions.

These criteria were then applied to the sample extracted from the two corpora, each containing texts from two successive stages of the English language. *The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose* (YCOE) was used for the extraction of the OE instances, while the ME instances were extracted from *the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, second edition* (PPCME2). The samples were then contrasted with each other to determine the extent of the categorial change since the OE period. The ME section of the sample is particularly relevant for this study, since Middle English represents an intermediate stage between Old English when *gelic*⁴ was unambiguously adjectival and Early Modern English (EME) when the prepositional functions of *like* predominate. The criteria, according to which the word under observation was analyzed, will be specified in the theoretical part.

⁴From now on, *gelic* is used when referring to all of the inflected variants in Old English. *Like*, on the other hand, refers both to the Middle English spelling variants of *like* as well as the adjectival and prepositional *like* in general.

2. Theoretical Background

2.1. Grammaticalization

Since the term was coined by the French linguist Antoine Meillet in 1912, the process of grammaticalization has been repeatedly approached by a number of linguists from different perspectives. The development of corpus linguistics at the end of the 20th century advanced the research on grammaticalization considerably, as it enabled scholars to study the grammatical phenomenon quantitatively. The cross-linguistic study of grammaticalization also showed that languages tend to undergo similar paths of grammaticalization.

This study is based on Hopper and Traugott's theory of grammaticalization who define this process as "the steps whereby particular items become more grammatical through time" (2003: 2). The present analysis is also based on the premise that grammaticalization is a unidirectional process, that is to say, lexical items become increasingly grammatical and not vice versa. In relation to *like*, this would mean that the word proceeds along the cline from a more lexical function as an adjective towards a more grammatical use as a preposition.

All theories of grammaticalization recognize that there is a distinction between the content (lexical) and function (grammatical) words, hence the name of the process. These lexical items, which "have stateable lexical meaning" (Crystal, 2008: 108) become increasingly grammatical until they are eventually reanalyzed as function words which "express grammatical relationships" (ibid.). However, the dichotomy between these two groups is not categorical and there is a limited movement, seeing that frequently "function words have their origins in content words" (Hopper and Traugott, 2003: 4). It is precisely the capacity of words to move between the word classes that is essential for grammaticalization.

Moreover, the change of category does not occur abruptly but rather gradually "through a series of small transitions, transitions that tend to be similar in type across languages" (ibid.: 6). Heine and Kuteva (2002) provide a comprehensive overview of these pathways in the world's languages (cf. section 2.4.). It should also be noted that while grammaticalization is not restricted to analytical languages, "there is a greater propensity for grammaticalization in languages like English due to the multifunctionality of many items in its lexicon" (Lange and Romaine, 1991: 267).

The focus here is on diachronic as well as synchronic perspective on grammaticalization, since “the synchronic working and the diachronic change of a system coincide in usage” (Gaeta, 2003: 181). The fact that *like* can be still found functioning as an adjective, though in restricted distribution in PDE, does not discredit that grammaticalization has once taken place. The coexistence of functions, which will be discussed later (cf. section 2.1.2), is a natural outcome of grammaticalization. The provenance of the prepositional *like* in an adjective also helps explain its idiosyncratic character in PDE. Before looking at the development of *like* itself, it is imperative to first examine the concomitant mechanisms of grammaticalization that are relevant to the categorial transition of this word.

2.1.1. Reanalysis and analogy

Reanalysis and analogy are both fundamental mechanisms of grammaticalization. Harris and Campbell (1995: 50) note that the process of reanalysis involves changes in category labels and grammatical relations in addition to the change in constituency and hierarchical structure. Being a covert process, reanalysis does not change the form of the word.⁵ In relation to *like*, the indication of reanalysis would be the loss of adjectival properties and their gradual replacement by the prepositional ones. The properties that distinguish these two categories will be discussed in more detail in section 2.5. Analogy, on the other hand, as an overt process involves “the attraction of extant forms to already existing constructions” (Hopper and Traugott, 2003: 63-4). The theoretical part establishes a variety of collaborating and mutually reinforcing mechanisms in morphological and syntactic behavior of *like* which resulted in its grammaticalization. The semantic component is only briefly mentioned in section 2.1.6., since it is not the focus of this work.

2.1.2. Layering

Another process that is concurrent with grammaticalization is layering, which Hopper and Traugott define as “the persistence of older forms and meanings alongside newer forms and meanings” (2003: 124).

- (1) $A \rightarrow B/A \rightarrow B$ (adapted from Hopper and Traugott (2003: 49))

⁵ Hopper and Traugott (2003: 49) point out that reanalysis may become overt when “some recognizable modification in the forms reveals it” such as the loss of inflectional endings.

As the sequence in example 1 shows, the lexical “A” and the grammatical “B” first need to coexist before the latter can substitute the former. However, the substitution does not necessarily have to take place. During grammaticalization into a preposition, the adjectival use does not disappear altogether but *like* retains its original function in some contexts side by side with its recently grammaticalized, prepositional functions. As the following two quotations show, layering can also be found in the work of Shakespeare:

(2) Or I will shake thee from me *like* a serpent! (ACT III, SCENE II.)

(3) *Like* to a step-dame or a dowager (ACT I, SCENE I.)

Ogawa (2014: 209) notes that in Shakespeare’s *A Midsummer Night Dream*, *like* can be found functioning both as an adjective (3) and as a preposition (2). When functioning as an adjective, it is followed by a preposition *to*. Example (2) contains *like* with the lexical verb *shake*, the presence of which points to the prepositional status of *like* (cf. 2.5.4.)

The distribution of each of the functions is complementary in PDE, as the environment where a preposition can occur would be ungrammatical for an adjective. Especially during the ME period, there was an overlap between the two functions, as the adjective was only beginning to lose ground to the preposition. *Like* could be found in contexts where adjectives as well as prepositions usually occurred. The coexistence of new and old functions stems primarily from the fact that the changes are gradual rather than abrupt. As Romaine and Lange note (1991: 259), the fact that grammaticalization does not have to be completed can lead to multifunctionality which is especially emblematic of *like*, as has been already mentioned. Their simultaneous presence can be explained as an outcome of layering. The variation between the less and the more grammaticalized function causes that “classification of linguistic realizations according to a binary system is an impossible task” (Hoffmann, 2004: 198). While it would be convenient to classify individual cases of *like* according to word class membership, it seems more suitable to place them along a cline rather than setting arbitrary boundaries between the adjectival and prepositional uses.

2.1.3. Decategorialization

Another major mechanism that drives grammaticalization is decategorialization, which refers to the loss of prototypical morphosyntactic properties typical for its more lexical source.

Concerning *like*, this would mean the loss of features typical for adjectives such as gradability or the ability to productively occur in the attributive function. Since all of these attributes are absent in the category of prototypical prepositions, the loss of the typically adjectival properties caused that *like* could be reanalyzed as a preposition.

Aarts's (2007: 155) exhaustive study of gradience within the word classes includes a section on close affinity between the categories of prepositions and adjectives, specifically looking at the following adjectives: *like*, *unlike*, *due*, *near*, *far*, *worth*, and *close*. From a synchronic perspective, Aarts provides a comparison of the adjectival and prepositional properties of the aforementioned words. While Aarts acknowledges the ambiguity of *like*, he unfortunately completely disregards its etymology and suggests that both "*near* and *like* can be adjectives or prepositions, depending on the syntactic configuration in which they occur" (2007: 219). As will be shown later, the syntactic context can certainly be used as one of the clues to distinguish between the adjectival and prepositional *like* but should not be the only indicator of its status. Ross (1972: 319) also examines *like* in contrast to other words and proposes the following cline of adjectivehood:

$$(4) \text{ proud} \rightarrow \text{opposite} \rightarrow \text{near} \rightarrow \text{like} \rightarrow \text{in}^6$$

By means of the relative position within a continuum (4), Ross assigns a status of a 'true' adjective and a 'true' preposition to *proud* and *in* respectively. *Proud* as a prototypical adjective requires a preposition, while *in*, a prototypical preposition, is used to link noun phrases. Being positioned in between *near* and *in*, *like* is, according to Ross, more prepositional than adjectival, since it does not occur with a PP complement⁷ (cf. section 2.5.9.). One significant feature that both transitive adjectives and prepositions share is their ability to directly govern a NP complement. Ross, therefore, considers the reluctance of *opposite* to delete the preposition *from* as a justification for its position closer to a 'true' adjective *proud* than *near* which can occur both with and without the preposition.

While the present study predominantly compares the adjectival properties of *like* with the prepositional ones, there are also other lexical categories which have affinities with adjectives. The category of adjectives has already been described in relation to verbs (Lakoff and Ross,

⁶ Ross (1972) classifies *in* as a prototypical preposition which has been in the language since the OE period. Nevertheless, *in* as an adjective was first attested at the end of the 16th century (OED). The development in this direction, i.e. P → A would be an instance of lexicalization.

⁷ The only exception are combinations such as *like unto*, which are, however, obsolete in PDE.

1967) and nouns (Ross, 1969), considering that adjectives share a number of features with both of these categories. It is a well-known fact that adjectives can occur either in the predicative or the attributive function. Fischer and Wurff note that “in the former case they are closer to the verbal end of the continuum, because together with the copula verb they form the verbal phrase, and in the latter case they may (but need not) be closer to the nominal end of the cline.” (2006: 122).

The class of prepositions likewise shares some attributes with other word classes. Di Meola considers the category of prepositions to be a relatively open class, since it is often diachronically supplied by grammaticalization processes with words from other categories (2000: 244). Especially the class of relational nouns has been a common source of prepositions such as *back*, *top* or *way*.

2.1.4. Gradience and gradualness

Related to the process of decategorization are two concepts, i.e. gradience and gradualness. In their study of mechanisms related to grammaticalization, Traugott and Trousdale (2010: 22) distinguish between gradience, as a synchronic process, and gradualness, as a diachronic process. While this study is mostly diachronic, both of these aspects are of some relevance to the evolution of *like*. The term gradience is used to describe the degree of adjectivehood or prepositionhood of a given word. In other words, it analyzes the word in a given period and how much adjectival or prepositional it is. Gradualness, on the other hand, describes “a sequence of discrete micro-steps affecting various aspects of the use and structure of a linguistic sign” (ibid.) over time.

Like which has, as a result of grammaticalization, undergone categorial change is especially difficult to label depending on whether one understands word classes as absolute or rather gradient⁸ (Van Gelderen, 2011: 43). Concerning *like*, Maling unquestionably identifies it as an adjective in Old English (1983: 254). However, there is no consensus among linguists about the categorial status of *like* in Present day English. While some consider it to be a preposition (Quirk 1972), others regard it as an adjective which can take direct nominal complements (Bresnan 1978) and Lightfoot (1980).

⁸ In this study, the concept of gradience is understood in terms of Aarts’s definition who defines this phenomenon as “interlacing of the categories of the language system” (2004: 5).

In addition to *like*, the categorial status of the following words is also vague:

“there are a few words which behave in many ways like prepositions, although they have affinities with verbs or adjectives: *except, bar, barring, concerning, considering, following, including, granted, pending, less, like, near, save* (archaic), *unlike, worth*.” (Quirk et al., 1972: 301).

Quirk et al.’s list illustrates that the category of verbs represents a frequent source of prepositions, as was mentioned in the previous section. The category of adjectives, on the other hand, represents a lesser-known source of prepositions. This type of development from a transitive adjective into a preposition is very scarce and only a couple of adjectives are known to have undergone it. These specific examples and the ambiguity of word class membership prove that the criteria for distinguishing between the respective classes are not always helpful. The same words can be assigned to different classes, depending on which of their attributes are foregrounded.

As the analytical part will show, the assignment of forms to categories when no overt morphological and syntactic features are available can be particularly problematic. In some cases, the respective grammatical categories are better distinguished according to the functions they fulfill. In Hopper and Traugott’s view the fluidity of categories can be explained by the concept of the “cline of categoriality” (2003: 107):

major category → intermediate category → minor category

In accordance with the theory of unidirectionality, grammaticalization proceeds from the major categories (nouns and verbs), through the intermediate category (adjectives), towards the minor category (prepositions and conjunctions). In Croft’s (1991) view, it would be more precise to classify adjectives as a major category. What is more important, both views emphasize the fluidity of the respective categories and conform to the theory of unidirectionality.

2.1.5. Renewal

According to Hopper and Traugott’s theory, another mechanism that is an essential concomitant of grammaticalization is renewal, which can be defined as “a process whereby existing meanings may take on new forms” (2003: 122). The outcome of grammaticalization is that two words identical in form serve different functions which can lead to ambiguities. While languages tend to

stay as economical as possible to avoid redundancy, they still need to maintain discreteness between the individual forms and functions. To disambiguate between the respective meanings, the speakers find solutions in alternative ways of expressing the same meaning. This tendency would be in accordance with what Hopper and Traugott call “avoidance of what might be dysfunctional ambiguity” (2003: 102). In other words, too high a degree of ambiguity might impede successful communication. Serving the same function as the lexical words fulfilled before undergoing grammaticalization, these new forms represent a fitting solution in this respect. As an example, Hopper and Traugott (2003: 122) mention intensifiers (such as *awfully* or *terribly*) which undergo the process of renewal especially frequently, since they have a tendency to quickly lose their enhancing function. Having said that, ambiguous forms do not necessarily have to cease to exist, as in many cases they maintain their initial categorial status, side by side with the recently emerged forms.

	<i>Function</i>	<i>First attested (OED)</i>	<i>Origin</i>	<i>Still in use</i>
<i>alike</i>	adverb ⁹	a1325	Cognate	Yes
	adjective	a1393	Cognate	Yes
<i>likely</i>	adjective ¹⁰	c1384	Cognate	No
	adverb ¹¹	c1429	Cognate	No
<i>similar</i>	adjective	1611	Borrowing	Yes

Table 1. Renewal of the adjectival *like* by the cognate and non-cognate items

During the time when *like* was already undergoing grammaticalization, a number of forms emerged that could possibly help resolve the ambiguity between the prepositional and the adjectival functions of *like*, as can be seen in Table 1. One way of how renewal can take place is by forming cognates of the original word, e.g. *alike* and *likely*. As Hopper and Traugott note “old forms [...] may be involved in the new structure” (2003: 123). Maling (1983: 278) in her paper on English transitive adjectives suggests that “once *like* and *worth* were identified as prepositions [...], then all their clearly adjectival uses [...] were forced out and replaced by related forms”. That is to say, the adjectival *likely* and *alike* substituted *like* in its two intransitive uses. She,

⁹ *Alike* here carries the meaning of “in like manner, likewise; in the same way, without distinction” (OED).

¹⁰ *Likely* here carries the meaning of “similar, resembling, alike” (OED).

¹¹ *Likely* here carries the meaning of “in a like or similar manner; similarly” (OED).

however, notes that the use of *like* with the predicate complement has not been affected by renewal and *like* continues to occur in this position as a preposition, as can be seen in example 5.

(5) Yet he looks *like* a king! (Maling, 1983: 278)

While the etymologically related forms have their advantage, as their forms are more familiar to the speaker, renewal can also take place by borrowing from other languages, e.g. *similar*. Its distinctiveness from the etymologically related forms can prove even more advantageous, as there is no possibility of ambiguity. Nevertheless, these semantic equivalents of *like* did not completely substitute this adjective in all of the contexts, as will be discussed in the following sections.

2.1.5.1. *Alike*

During the ME period, when the adjectival *like* was already losing ground to *like* in the prepositional function, the first instances of *alike* started to emerge as one of the forms of expressing the adjectival meaning of ‘similarity’. According to the OED, *alike* has two etymologically related functions: as an adjective and as an adverb which are both partly of Scandinavian provenance and partly reductions of *anlike* and *ylike*. What is more important, *alike* cannot be used as a preposition. Mostly found in the predicative function, it was first attested as an adjective (6) at the end of the 14th century (OED), while the adverbial *alike* (7) emerged a couple of decades earlier.

(6) For hospitalities are not all *aliche*. (OED)

(7) In this equality of mountains, all were *alike* eligible. (OED)

As exemplified in example (6), the ME form of *alike* could occur in the predicative function, just like the PDE form. The example (7), on the other hand, contains the adverbial *alike* which modifies the adjective *eligible*.

One of the possible reasons for the emergence of *alike* could have been the need for disambiguation of specifically adjectival forms in Middle English. From the perspective of PDE, the distribution of these two cognates is complementary. While the distribution of the unambiguously adjectival *like* is restricted to the attributive function, *alike* is only found in the predicative function in PDE. Together with some other adjectives beginning with *a-*, *alike* can be premodified by *very* as well as allows comparison.

2.1.5.2. *Likely*

In addition to *alike*, *likely* also emerged at the end of the 14th century. Just like in the case of *alike*, Scandinavian influence was an essential factor in the formation of *likely*. The fact that the word is composed of the suffix *-ly* indicates that the word is unambiguously either adjectival or adverbial but not prepositional. The presence of this suffix probably blocked its reanalysis into other parts of speech.

- (8) Þei were *likely* eiper to oper. (OED) (They were similar to one another.)
- (9) For he shulde setten all his wille To geten a *likly* thyng hym tille. (OED) (For he should set all his will to get a similar thing to him.)
- (10) It will appeare that our Deacons are *likeliest* to the times of the Apostles and Apostolicall men as hath beene shewed. (OED) (It appears that our deacons are most like to the times of the apostles and apostolic men.)

As illustrated in examples (8) and (9), the forms of *likely* could occur both in the predicative and the attributive function, respectively. The example in (10) shows that *likely* was also found in the comparative forms. Synthetic forms were still common at the beginning of the 16th century. According to the OED, *likely* was followed by a preposition (10) as well as directly linked its NP complement (11). It was also often found with various degree modifiers. Despite the fact that *likely* is still common in PDE, it occurs mostly as an adjective or an adverb with the meaning of ‘probability’. The last instances of *likely* as semantic equivalents of the adjectival *like* were in the middle of the 17th century (OED). It was probably because of the ambiguity between these two senses that *likely* with the meaning of similarity became obsolete.

In sum, both cognate items of *like* can be found in PDE in specific contexts in which the adjectival *like* is no longer considered grammatically correct. The findings seem to suggest that the emergence of the etymologically related forms of *like* during the Middle English period was not a coincidence. Hopper and Traugott (2003: 103) point out that a “homonymic clash” represents a significant factor in the emergence of the distinctive forms as a mechanism to avoid “dysfunctional ambiguity”. The speakers need to comprehend one another and a high degree of ambiguity can lead to a breakdown in communication. However, Hopper and Traugott also point out that “grammatical items are characteristically polysemous, and so avoidance of homonymic clash would not be expected to have any systematic effect on the development of grammatical

markers, especially in their later stages” (2003: 103). In other words, the avoidance of homonymy does not seem to be as instrumental in the disambiguation of the grammatical items such as prepositions, as it is in the case of lexical words.

2.1.5.3. *Similar*

Borrowing from foreign languages represents another way how a language can substitute for a word that has lost its semantic strength or has been grammaticalized (cf. Table 1). López-Couso and Seoane (2008: 210) label these substitution processes as “contact-induced grammaticalization”. Competition between the two semantic or functional equivalents is common in languages and only in some cases does one form substitute the other one in all contexts.

The emergence of the adjective *similar*, a semantic equivalent of *like*, could be considered an instance of “renewal by a non-cognate item to effect semantic expressiveness” (Hopper and Traugott, 2003: 123). This word of French provenance first emerged during the great influx of foreign borrowings. Unlike in Old English and to some extent in Middle English, “during the whole eModE period borrowing was the most frequent way of enrichment” (Kastovsky, 2006: 257). While the previous two functionally equivalent cognates of *like* are either restricted in their distribution (*alike*) or became obsolete (*likely*), *similar* exhibits hardly any restrictions in its distribution and, more importantly is still in current use.

(11) Soche members are compounded and doe consiste of the saied *similarie* and like partes. (1564) (OED)

(12) The commandment to love our neighbour, which is a duty second and *similar* to that of the love of God. (a1740) (OED)

According to the OED, *similar* is first attested in 1611 in a French-English dictionary as a synonym of *like*. The OED also mentions an etymologically related form *similary*, the variant of which is already attested in a text from 1564, as illustrated in example (11). The coordinated construction “*similarie* and *like* partes” consists of two semantic equivalents. The second member of the pair, a native word, is used to clarify the meaning of the preceding adjective. This example also supports the adjectival status of *like*, since the items in coordination are usually of the same class or at least fulfill the same function (see section 2.5.7.). Coordinated constructions, consisting of two synonyms (a domestic and a foreign word), were especially frequent during the time of excessive borrowing. Example (12) illustrates that *similar* is followed by a PP

complement just like it is in Present Day English. Besides *to*, the OED also mentions *with* as a possible preposition used in combination with *similar*. The *MED* also mentions an adjective *simile-wīse* (13), which was probably formed analogously to *likewise* which will be discussed later in more detail (cf. 2.5.10.). *Simile-wīse* ceased to be used relatively early and except for one quotation in the *MED*, there is no mention of it after the 15th century.

(13) Right *simile wise* [vr. Liche wyse] it is in þis chirch militant where oure souereyn
lorde Criste Ihesu is kynge.

In conclusion, it would be short-sighted not to take into consideration the aforementioned semantic equivalents of *like* which emerged around the period when *like* was still undergoing transition. While none of the forms ousted *like* from all of its adjectival functions, they still might have played a role in further destabilizing the adjectival status of *like* as well as substituting it altogether in some positions.

2.1.6. Semantic bleaching

This study does not take into account the semantic changes that *like* has been subjected to, while undergoing grammaticalization, but rather focuses on the syntactic changes. Nevertheless, a brief summary of the semantic changes is useful for a better understanding of the process in its entirety.

It is without question that semantic bleaching is an essential component of grammaticalization. Hopper and Traugott (2003: 94) note that the process of bleaching essentially “involves loss of semantic content”. During grammaticalization, lexical words, which convey lexical meaning, undergo reanalysis into function words, which predominantly express grammatical relations. *Like*, as an adjective, originally referred to something “similar, resembling, alike” (OED). The inherent meaning of similarity already implies that one entity is described in relation to another entity. The notion of association between the two entities (noun phrases), which was already present in the adjectival function, was emphasized when *like* began to acquire a more prepositional status. As a preposition, it gained a related but more general meaning of “in the same way as” (OED). As Lehmann notes, “the relationality of an item is normally conserved while most of the original semantic features are lost in grammaticalization” (2015: 138). While only the prepositional *like* expresses the grammatical relation, both the prepositional and adjectival *like* are bound by the semantic component of similarity.

2.1.7. The source and target concepts

As has been already mentioned, the input for grammaticalization are lexical words¹². In Heine and Kuteva's words, "it is only when forms for concrete (e.g., lexical) meanings are used to also express more abstract (grammatical) meanings that grammatical forms emerge" (2002: 3). That is to say, grammaticalization proceeds in the direction from more concrete meanings towards more abstract concepts. *Like*, as an adjective, refers to the relatively concrete quality of similarity, while the prepositional *like* expresses more abstract concept of relation between two entities.

There are also some tendencies, as to which lexical items are more prone to undergoing grammaticalization and which are not. The content words that could potentially be grammaticalized are mostly semantically non-specific words which are then further semantically bleached. For example a verb *to go*, referring to movement in general was more likely to be grammaticalized into a future tense auxiliary than *to tread* which refers to a specific manner of walking.

In essence, the source words determine what kind of function these newly grammaticalized items will perform. While the category of adjectives includes words that are mostly concrete, since their primary function is to further specify nouns, the prepositional *like* lacks in the domain of specificity. Both as an adjective and as a preposition, *like* expresses the notion of similarity, namely the character of the subject is described in relation to the character of complement. As Kortmann suggests, "this semantic affinity can hardly astonish given that comparison involves similarity" (1997: 195). Thanks to the aforementioned sense, *like* was more than suitable to start functioning as a preposition. As an adjective, it describes semantic relation between two entities rather than the quality by itself. It is precisely this relational nature of *like* which makes this adjective an ideal target for grammaticalization into a preposition which primarily expresses grammatical relations.

In a study analyzing the adjective *near*, Ogawa (2014: 205) suggests that semantic birelationality which "expresses the meaning of 'spatial proximity' between two or more items" is quintessential for its reanalysis into a preposition. In a similar vein, *like* as an adjective expresses

¹² Sometimes words that are already grammatical can undergo even further grammaticalization such as when the prepositional *like* was grammaticalized into a conjunction. Givón (1991: 305) labels this mechanism as secondary grammaticalization.

the meaning of semantic proximity, which is also semantically birelational and therefore represents a perfect source material for the development into a preposition, as this word class primarily expresses relations.

2.1.8. Frequency

An increase in frequency represents both the consequence and the trigger of grammaticalization. It has already been quantitatively proven that function words are substantially more frequent than content words. Therefore, a word that is undergoing grammaticalization would naturally show an increase in numbers. Hopper and Traugott's theory states that "the more frequently a form occurs in texts, the more grammatical it is assumed to be" (2003: 106). While this is undeniable, it should be treated with caution. The increase in frequency is also related to the extension of the contexts where a grammaticalized item can occur. During the early stages of grammaticalization, the words occur only in highly restricted contexts from which they gradually extend their distribution to more and more positions.

2.2. Synchronic status of transitive adjectives

Within the category of adjectives, there is a subcategory of transitive adjectives, which can be defined as "adjectives which take case-marked NP-complements" (Maling, 1983: 253). Just like transitive verbs, these adjectives take a complement in the form of a noun phrase without needing a preposition. While these adjectives were common in the OE period, Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 527) classify only two PDE adjectives in this category, i.e. *near* and *like*.

Compared to PDE, the OE adjectival paradigm was a highly inflectional system of adjectives that were inflected for the number, case and gender. One of the reasons for the loss of this type of adjectives is the erosion of inflections at the end of OE, as the endings helped express the relation between the transitive adjective and its complement. Okhado (1990) suggests there is a correlation between the loss of inherent case assignment and the loss of transitive adjectives or in the case of *like*, its development into a preposition.

(14) Hit is feawum mannum cúð. (It is known to the few men.) (Okhado, 1990: 241)

As illustrated in example (14), the adjective *cúð* assigns the dative case to *feawum mannum*. In the Present Day English translation, the preposition *to* is an obligatory element linking the complement with the adjective. According to Okhado (1990: 244), "case assigned by transitive

adjectives is inherent in OE”. The reduction of morphological inflections caused that case assignment became extinct. In OE it was possible for transitive adjectives to take complements in the dative and genitive without being introduced by a preposition (ibid.: 253).

Without the overt marking, the link ceased to be apparent. The emergence of prepositions during the ME period was one of the possible solutions for this lack of syntactico-semantic connection between the items. As will be discussed later, intransitive *like*, that is to say, *like* followed by prepositions such as *to*, emerged during the Middle English period, possibly as a remedy to the lack of overt linkage. With the loss of inflectional marking in Middle English, they were assigned prepositions. As a result, a large quantity of prepositions was grammaticalized during this transitional period.

The scarcity of transitive adjectives in Present Day English proves that it is more natural for analytical languages to have adjectives that are followed by the PP-complements. Maling’s paper (1983) mentions three transitive adjectives which have been reanalyzed as prepositions, i.e. *near*, *worth*¹³ and *like*. She suggests that “the loss of transitive adjectives in English can be seen as a consequence of the almost complete loss of morphological inflection” (1983: 254). The function that nominal inflections were fulfilling was substituted by the prepositions. In the case of these adjectives, they were reanalyzed as prepositions via grammaticalization. These NP-complement-taking adjectives are extremely rare in Present Day English and are considered “marked options” (Vincent and Börjars, 2010: 468). Newly formed adjectives mostly conform to the pattern of regular adjectives that take complements by means of a preposition.

In addition to Old English, transitive adjectives can also be found in the following languages: German, Swedish, Icelandic and other Germanic languages. All these languages share the ability to assign case to their complements. In German and Swedish, transitive adjectives, which take a direct nominal complement, are more frequent but there is evidence of their replacement by the PP complement already in progress (Okhado, 1990: 256). As Vincent and Börjars (2010: 472) note, “some adjectives which took NP or PP in OSw, such as *liker* ‘like’ and *værþugher* ‘worthy’, take only NP in modern Swedish.”

¹³ While *worth* is only understood as an adjective which can take NP complements, *near* is also recognized in its prepositional function.

As Maling notes, “NP-complements to adjectives are ‘oblique’ objects which can be realized in either of two ways: by the prepositional phrases, or, in languages with surface morphological case, by case-marked NPs” (1983: 254). The prepositional phrases would be the default way of expressing the relation in analytical languages such as Present Day English, while morphological inflection would predominate in synthetic languages like Old English. With the loss of inflections, transitive adjectives would gradually disappear from the language. However, in the case of adjectives *like*, *worth* and *near*, another solution was found by means of “reanalysis of the head from A to P” (ibid.). That is to say, all three originally transitive adjectives underwent grammaticalization into prepositions.

Vincent and Börjars (2010: 468) propose three different scenarios that can take place when a language loses its adjectival inflections:

1. Prepositions substitute the functions previously fulfilled by inflections.
2. Adjectives are reanalyzed into prepositions, e.g. *like*
3. Transitive adjectives remain in the language but are no longer productive, e.g. *near*.

Vincent and Börjars (2010) claim that the majority of English adjectives have followed the first path, apart from *like* and *worth* which were subjected to the second scenario. The development of adjectives in Swedish, Norwegian and Dutch, on the other hand, seems to be best characterized by the third scenario.

2.2.1. Productivity of *like*

Adjectives and prepositions also behave differently in respect to word-formation. While prepositions are rarely employed in forming other parts of speech, the class of adjectives is by comparison rather productive. Based on this, derivations of the adjectival *like* such as *likeness* or *likely* would have emerged during the time when *like* was still functioning as an adjective rather than a preposition. Grammaticalization into a preposition would, therefore, block any further productive formations which are typical for adjectives, as *like* would exhibit gradual signs of decreasing productivity.

2.3. The diachronic development of *like*

This section discusses the development of *like* against the backdrop of typological change of English. In particular, it focuses on the consequences of the change of English from a synthetic into an analytical language for the categorial status of *like*.

2.6.1. Old English

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, *like* as an adjective was first attested in the Old English period. The OE precursor of *like* then fulfilled an unambiguously adjectival function. The spelling at that time was relatively stable and the simple uninflected form was *gelic*¹⁴. At that time, it was a fully functional adjective that could form synthetic comparative and superlative forms. According to the *Bosworth-Toller Dictionary*, the forms in the comparative for masculine and feminine were *gelicre* and *gelicra* respectively. As regards the superlative form, there were three variants available: *gelicost*, *gelicast* and *gelicust*.

It is a well-known fact that Old English heavily relied on inflections and the category of adjectives was no exception. Together with the other OE adjectives, *gelic* was inflected according to the case, number and gender. Regarding the complement of *gelic*, Mitchell (1987: 89) lists *gelic* among the adjectives denoting similarity that prefer the dative case.

Compared to Present Day English, the word order (WO) in Old English was relatively free, as “the use of inflections also allowed much more flexibility” (Mugglestone, 2012: 57). There was some positional mobility before the WO pattern, which became the basis of the PDE one, prevailed, i.e. S-V-O. Concerning the position of adjectives, it meant the dative NP complements could precede the adjectives that modified them (Fischer and Wurff, 2006: 194). The increase in fixation in ME meant that some positions were rising in frequency until they eventually became the only available option.

Unlike in PDE, when adjectives are mostly connected to their complements via a preposition, “there were, arguably, many more transitive adjectives in Old English, but all have lost their NP-governing character” (Denison, 2001: 132). Moreover, *gelic* could occur both in the attributive and the predicative function in OE:

¹⁴ The other variants of the adjective *gelic* were *onlic*, *anlic* and *angelic*. The form *gelice* was functioning either as an adjective or adverb.

(15) Ealle men hæfdon *gelicne* fruman. (All men had a like beginning.) (BTAD)

(16) Næs se wæstm *gelic*. (The fruit was not alike.) (BTAD)

In example (15), the masculine noun *fruman* is in the accusative and is preceded by *gelicne* which carries the accusative ending *-ne*. It is a strong adjective in the attributive function. The word order of the OE sentence is the same as the PDE translation. Example (16) contains the noun *wæstm* which is in the dative. The inflection-less *gelic* is in the postnominal position. While in Old English both sentences (15) and (16) contain morphological variants of *gelic*, PDE paraphrases contain *like* and *alike*, respectively. The reason why *alike* is the only grammatical option is that the adjectival *like* no longer occurs in the predicative function without any complement.

Concerning the morphological composition of *gelic*, it is composed of two morphemes, i.e *ge-* (together) and *-lic* (body). The prefix itself was unstressed, as the main stress was on the second component of the word (Wright, 1925: 17). The erosion of the prefix took place sometime between the Old and Middle English era and among the ME forms we can find now obsolete cognates of *gelic* such as *ylike* and *anlike* which later gave rise to *alike*.

2.6.2. Middle English

Despite the fact that *like* has lost its prefix *ge-* by the Middle English period, its spelling was more variable than ever before. It occurred in a variety of spelling variants such as *liche* or *lick*, to name but a few (OED). By then, the ME adjectives were mostly uninflected and the word order was relatively fixed. “For most of the period there is just a simple opposition: inflected adjective in *-e* vs. uninflected. By the fourteenth century inflection was responsive only to definiteness and number” (Lass: 2006, 72) and even this distinction was lost by the sixteenth century (ibid.). When occurring in the attributive function, *like* would usually precede the noun it modified. The function of inflections was substituted by the fixed word order which caused that the predicative *like* was in the same position in which a preposition would have been. It should also be noted that the use of prepositions increased dramatically during this period. The need for prepositions which were in some cases substitutes for the lost inflections must have also created favorable conditions for grammaticalization of new prepositions.

Furthermore, an alternative way of expressing comparison emerged. The synthetic comparison of *like* started to alternate with the periphrastic forms, until eventually the latter substituted the

inflectional forms. Double comparatives, i.e. those using both inflectional and periphrastic forms at the same time, were also common, as illustrated in example (17) from the middle of the 16th century. In double comparatives such as “most lykest”, *most* is sometimes found to be functioning as an intensifier (Millward, 2012: 168-9).

(17) Who hath the vantage, god knowyth, wether the king or..the officers..which is
most *lykest*. (OED)

In sum, the patterns in which *like* could occur in ME are now mostly obsolete, as they are predominantly typical for adjectives. The restriction on the distribution proves that *like* had by then lost most of its adjectival properties. The individual properties will be discussed in section 2.5. in more detail.

2.4. A cross-linguistic perspective

The development of *like* since the Old English period is not something unique to English, as similar pathways can be detected cross-linguistically. It is not unusual for linguistic forms to undergo similar changes, in the same direction and order, in more than one language. The changes, however, usually do not take place at the same speed across various languages. Both extralinguistic and intralinguistic conditions can significantly alter the outcome of grammaticalization.

There is no consensus about how to label these crosslinguistic tendencies. They have been referred to as ‘a cline’ by Hopper and Traugott (2003), ‘a pathway’ by Andersen (2001), ‘a continuum’ or ‘a channel’ (Heine and Kuteva, 2002). All of the aforementioned terms have one in common: they highlight the transitional nature of grammaticalization. What Hopper and Traugott (2003) also stress is the arbitrariness of individual stages of grammaticalized forms. It is often impossible to distinguish whether the word is lexical with some recently acquired grammatical features or already a grammaticalized form with some residual lexical features. Experts on grammaticalization agree on the position of forms relative to each other but they usually have varying opinions as to the particular cut-off points between the lexical and grammatical forms. In accordance with the theory of unidirectionality, items would proceed from less grammatical towards more grammatical features along the cline. Hopper and Traugott recognize this arbitrariness and point out that “the study of grammaticalization has emerged in

part out of a recognition of the general fluidity of so-called categories” (2003: 7). As was already mentioned, it is not always possible to determine whether *like* is functioning as an adjective or as a preposition.

Heine and Kuteva’s *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization* offers a comprehensive study of cross-linguistic grammaticalization channels which refer to “the different lines of development of one and the same source concept” (Romaine and Lange 1991: 259). The list includes the following path which correlates with the development of *like* in English:

Resemble (‘to resemble’, ‘to be like’) > Comparative (Heine and Kuteva, 2002: 256)

While Heine and Kuteva only provide examples from Chinese and German, this path can also be applied to the process of grammaticalization that happened between Old English and Middle English during which the adjectival *like*, on the basis of the semantic attribute of similarity gave, rise to the prepositional *like*, highlighting this meaning. It should be noted, however, that the examples from the *Lexicon* are of verbs being reanalyzed as prepositions. Maling (1983) provides a similar grammaticalization path which is specific to the development of *like*:

English like ‘equal’>like ‘similative’ (Maling 1983)

2.5. Criteria for distinguishing between A and P

Each word class has characteristic features which help distinguish it from other word classes. As Hopper and Traugott (2003: 106) note, “the tendency for relatively prototypical members of noun, verb, and adjective categories to become less prototypical in their distribution, in at least one of their uses” plays a vital role in understanding the mechanisms and processes of grammaticalization. In sum, the fluidity of the respective classes represents the focal point of this study.

To distinguish between the respective categories of *like*, parameters must be established by which the examples will be allocated into either the adjectival or the prepositional category. Since it might not be possible to make a clear-cut categorization, it would be more suitable to position the examples along the following cline:

like with mostly P features → *like* with features of both A and P → *like* with mostly A features

Only a prototypical member will bear all of the hallmarks of a given word class. According to Maling (1983), it is the lack of morphological inflections that is essential in classifying *like* as an adjective. Ogawa (2014), on the other hand, identifies the loss of gradability (see section 2.5.2.), as the key feature that distinguishes the adjectives from the prepositions. This study takes into consideration a number of other criteria that should help determine the relative level of grammaticalization of the individual examples. It should also be noted that these categorial changes mostly encompass losses of features specific to adjectives. None of the following parameters can be considered the sole cause of the development of the prepositional *like* but they were arguably all contributing factors in its grammaticalization.

2.5.1. Syntactic function

A prototypical adjective should be able to fulfil the following two syntactic functions: attributive and predicative (Quirk et al., 1985: 402-403). When functioning predicatively, the adjective follows a copular verb and functions as a subject complement. The attributive function, on the other hand, indicates that the adjective is adjacent to the noun phrase it modifies.

2.5.1.1. Attributive function

Even though not all PDE adjectives can occur in the attributive function, the ability to modify a noun in the position between a determiner and a NP represents one of the parameters that distinguish between the central (*hungry*) and peripheral adjectives (*utter*) (Quirk et al., 1985: 402). It can therefore, be assumed that the adjectival *gelic* should be able to productively occur in the prenominal position in OE, as illustrated in example (18) in which *gelic* is functioning attributively.

(18) Ealle men hæfdon *gelicne* fruman. (BTAD) (All men have *similar* beginning.)

It is the unrestrictive distribution of the attributive *gelic* that is essential in identifying the unambiguous adjectival status of this word. Unlike adjectives, prepositions cannot premodify the head of the NP. Therefore, the loss of this feature would suggest that *gelic* is being reanalyzed into a preposition.

When looking at the later stages of English, *like* remained in the attributive function only in a couple of constructions such as “in like manner”, “in like case” “of like mind”, “in like wise” or “in like sort”. Most of these expressions consist of a preposition and a general noun, both

enveloping *like*, and, therefore, functioning as a ‘protection’ to its adjectival status. While *like* is no longer productive in these positions, *similar* can occur in the attributive function without any restrictions.

2.5.1.2. *Predicative function*

In addition to the attributive function, adjectives should also be able to perform the predicative function, that is to say, they are syntactic complements of the copular verb.

(19) Næs se wæstm *gelic*. (BTAD) (the fruit was not *alike*)

(20) Heofena rice is geworden *gelic* senepes corne. (BTAD) The kingdom of heaven is *like* the mustard seed.

As illustrated in ex. (19), *gelic* functions as the complement of a copular verb *næs*, which is positioned initially. Despite the fact that the noun *wæstm* is a complement of *gelic*, it precedes its modifier, unlike in example (20) where the position is reversed. As a result of the fixation of word order, linking verbs and their complements were being positioned in proximity of each other, as can be seen in ex. (20) where *gelic* is positioned directly following the verb and in front of its complement “senepes corne”. It was probably the change to the word order pattern in which *gelic* is positioned in the proximity of its complement that created ideal conditions for reanalysis. However, Maling (1983: 255) suggests that the ability to occur in predicate complements is not specific to the adjective, as “metaphorical PPs”¹⁵ can be found in this position as well.

2.5.2. The attribute of gradability

Another attribute that could help position instances of *like* along the cline of grammaticalization is gradability, i.e. the ability to take the comparative and superlative forms. The capacity for gradability is related to the meaning of the given adjective, that is to say, whether its semantic property can be modified to a higher or a lesser degree. As has been mentioned in relation to the previous parameter, not all members of the word class possess this attribute. There is a number of English adjectives which are not gradable such as *dead* or *identical*, just like there are other word classes, in addition to adjectives, that are gradable, such as adverbs. The category of prepositions, however, takes neither synthetic nor analytical comparative and superlative forms.

¹⁵ This category consists of the prepositional phrases such as “under the weather” or “in good spirits” (Maling, 1983: 256) the meaning of which is not locative.

During the OE period, *gelic* could form the comparative and superlative by means of inflections, i.e. section 2.6.1 for the individual forms. It was in the ME period when the first instances of comparative and superlative *like* with the periphrastic *more* and *most* appeared. The substitution of synthetic forms with analytical ones was probably not triggered by the grammaticalization of *like*, as a number of other adjectives which also underwent this transition have retained their adjectival status.

While Maling (1983) does not consider this criterion essential in distinguishing the adjectival use of *like* from the prepositional one, Ogawa (2014: 189) considers gradability “a sufficient condition for the adjectivehood” in the case of *near* which can still occur in the synthetic comparative and superlative form in PDE. The decline of gradability correlates, in Ogawa’s (2014: 192) view, with the erosion of inflections and therefore justifies it as a reliable test for adjectivehood. As a reaction to Maling’s position (1983), who suggests that there is a correlation between the loss of inflections and the reanalysis of *like*, Ogawa provides as counterexamples the following deverbal prepositions which were grammaticalized in their inflected forms: *given* and *considering*. Based on this, Ogawa (2014: 209) questions why the comparative and superlatives forms of *like* were not grammaticalized instead of the positive one. However, the semantic category of similarity itself carries the meaning of comparison, as one entity is described in relation to another entity. Therefore, the grammaticalized comparative forms would seem tautological.

Semantic gradability is an essential attribute of adjectives and “if a word which was originally gradable is losing the gradability, then it is undergoing grammaticalization from an adjective (or adverb to an adposition (i.e., preposition or postposition))” (Ogawa, 2014: 202). The question is whether *like* in the same way as *near* has been losing its gradability. Therefore, one can assume that the overall decline of the semantic gradability would suggest that grammaticalization from A into P is under way. Maling (1983) classifies *near* as an adjective due the prototypical adjectival property of allowing synthetic comparison, e.g. *nearer* and *the nearest*.

Dölling et al. (2008: 251) suggest that some semantic classes of PDE prepositions can be graded, especially those that “involve comparisons of extended spatial regions”, as illustrated in example 21.

(21) This road cuts *more into* the woods than the highway.

The prepositional *like* expresses the sense of similarity between two entities, which is in fact a scalar notion and therefore the gradability of this word should not be considered as an obstacle to classifying it as a preposition.

2.5.3. Modification by a degree modifier

The ability of *like* to occur with a degree modifier is related to the gradability of the adjective, cf. section 2.5.2. Only those adjectives that are gradable should be able to co-occur with degree modifiers such as *very*, *so*, *enough* or *too*. It should not be possible, on the other hand, to modify the prepositions using the aforementioned degree adverbs. Maling (1983: 256) disregards this property as a test of adjectivehood based on the fact that metaphorical PPs such as “in love” can also occur with the degree modifiers. Ogawa (2014: 191) questions Maling’s view and suggests that these instances of metaphorical PPs are undergoing lexicalization into adjectives, hence they should not be classified as the prepositional phrases but as lexicalized adjectives. Kanye (2005: 179), on the other hand, considers the inability of prepositions to occur with a degree modifier as an essential factor in judging the adjectival status of *near*. He also notes that typical prepositions are not gradable, as illustrated in example (22).

(22) *John is *forer* the Democrats than the Republicans.¹⁶ (Kanye, 2005: 177)

2.5.4. The verbal component

As has been already pointed out, the surrounding context can reveal much essential information about the mechanisms of grammaticalization. In addition to the complements, the types of verbs collocating with *like* can also help classifying this word according to word class.

Dušková et al. (2009) divide verbs according to the syntactic-semantic classification into either copular or lexical verbs. Having little semantic content of their own, copular verbs always require a complement in the form of an adjective or a noun. Therefore, one can assume that the distribution of the adjectival *like* would be restricted to copular verbs, as lexical verbs do not take adjectives as complements. As the process of grammaticalization proceeded, the prepositional *like* would increasingly start occurring with lexical words, too. Romaine and Lange (1991: 271) also mention the co-occurrence of *like* with experienter and perception verbs, as illustrated in (23) and (24).

¹⁶ An asterisk is used to indicate that a form is not found in Standard English.

(23) It sounds *like* a bad time for John.

(24) The car looked *like* new.

Dušková et al. (2009) consider *like* in the context of this type of verbs as prepositional. As *like* was undergoing decategorization, its distribution would expand from occurring only with copular verbs, to experiencer and perception verbs and then to lexical verbs. This would be in accordance with the fact that each of the word classes under observation has a different range of distribution. While the adjectival *like* prefers copular verbs, the prepositional *like* can also follow other types of verbs such as lexical verbs.

2.5.5. The loss of morphological inflection

One essential morphological feature that distinguished adjectives and prepositions in Old English were the adjectival inflectional endings. While the endings were still present during the OE period, the well-known phonetic erosion that took place during the ME period caused that adjectives gradually lost all of their inflections. As a result, some adjectives joined other word classes such as prepositions, in not being inflected for case, number and gender. This development certainly aided in the grammaticalization of *like*, as the formal obstacle signaling class membership was eliminated. Maling (1983) suggests that it was precisely the erosion of inflections that allowed for the reanalysis of *like* into a preposition. Despite the fact that it might seem obvious to see the correlation between the loss of adjectival inflections and the grammaticalization of *like*, Gaeta warns that this link might be misleading, as “we run the risk of confusing reanalysis with “syntactic” transcategorization (or conversion)” (2003: 176). It should also be noted that not all adjectives gave rise to the prepositions after the loss of inflections. While the erosion of inflections certainly aided in grammaticalization, it was not the only factor in this process. Without doubt, the uninflected adjectives are more prone to be reanalyzed as prepositions, but the loss of inflections does not invariably lead to reanalysis.

2.5.6. The Fixation of position

It is a well-attested fact that English word order has not always been as fixed as it is in PDE. While in Old English there was some variability as regards their position, the constituents of a sentence were becoming increasingly fixed in their respective positions during the ME period. Functioning predicatively, *like* could be either preceding or following its complement in OE. The following example (25) illustrates that the complement *gimmum* in the dative case follows the

superlative *gelicust*. The PDE paraphrase, though ungrammatical, shows that the order is reversed. It was already during the ME period when *like* was becoming increasingly confined to the position in front of the NP complement, as shown in (26). *Lyke* here is positioned between the copular verb and the complement *hym*.

(25) Ís byþ gimum *gelicust*. (Ice is most *like* gems.) (BTAD)

(26) Torre was nat *lyke* hym nother in shappe ne in countenance. (OED)

Gaeta's (2003: 175) view is that "the adjacency to a NP and the syntactic autonomy as a constituent" are essential conditions for reanalysis into a preposition. The fact that NPs immediately follow transitive adjectives (ex. 27) which is the position that prepositions usually take must have been one of the contributing factors that induced the process of grammaticalization. Unlike the intransitive adjectives (ex. 28), which are nowadays much more common, transitive adjectives are not separated from their respective complements by a preposition. Therefore, it can be assumed that the prepositionless context significantly assisted the reanalysis of *like* into a preposition.

(27) S + V + TA + NP

(28) S + V + IA + P + NP

Lehmann, in relation to the grammaticalization of adverbs, notes that "the more intimate its connection with the NP becomes, the more its position vis-à-vis the latter becomes fixed; it develops either into a preposition or into a postposition" (2015: 167). Like adverbs, adjectives should behave in a similar way. The decrease in positional mutability created ideal conditions for grammaticalization. "While the syntagmatic variability of the grammaticalized item decreases, its bond with a particular class of words which it comes to modify grammatically becomes tighter." (Lehmann, 2015: 169) what would be the case of the prepositional use of *like*.

2.5.7. Coordination with other adjectives

Coordination can also prove useful in the diagnostics of the categorial status of *like*. Only words or phrases that correspond in their syntactic function¹⁷ should be able to appear in coordinate constructions. As the status of *like* can be sometimes ambiguous, the other member of the coordinated phrase can help in distinguishing between the two functions. If the other coordinate

¹⁷ For example a prepositional phrase and an adverb can appear within the same coordinate construction since they both function as adverbials, e.g. She seemed content and in good spirits.

of the pair is an adjective, then *like* should be of the same word class. As illustrated in example (29), *euen* undeniably functions as an adjective, which indicates that *liche* should be analyzed as an adjective too.

(29) Þe soþnesse of þe essencia and of þe godhede is *liche* and euen in þe sone. (MED)

It is certainly true that there are some instances when the coordinates are not of the same syntactic category. Maling (1983: 259) notes, in relation to coordination, that this parameter should be used with caution as semantic and functional identity are even more essential for the formation of grammatical coordinate structures. She illustrates her claim with the following sentence (30) in which an AP (*cheerful*) and PP (*in good spirits*) are conjoined.

(30) The patient seemed cheerful and in good spirits. (Maling, 1983: 260)

As has been mentioned earlier (c.f. 2.5.3.), the metaphorical prepositional phrases like “in good spirits” can be considered instances of lexicalization (Ogawa, 2014). Therefore, coordination of *like* with the other adjectives should not be completely disregarded but should be treated with caution.

2.5.8. Position of the determiner

The system of determiners, which began developing at the end of the OE period, gradually replaced the strong/weak distinction between the adjectives. The emergence of definite and indefinite articles and an increasingly fixed word order meant that determiners had to assume a certain position within the sentence. The position of these articles in respect to *like* could, therefore, help interpret its categorial status. According to the grammatical rules of English, articles should always precede adjectives, while they should be positioned behind prepositions. Therefore, it can be assumed that the adjectival *like* would be preceded by an article. Reversed position would suggest that *like* has already been grammaticalized into a preposition.

2.5.9. The presence of a preposition

As has been already mentioned, *like* ranks among those adjectives that did not require a support of a preposition. This was certainly true during the Old English period when *gelic* was undeniably a transitive adjective, as illustrated in (31) where *gelic* is directly linked to its complement *senepes corne*.

(31) Heofena rice is geworden *gelic* senepes corne. (BTAD)

It the course of the ME period, *like*, however, began occurring with prepositions alongside its transitive variants. As illustrated in example (32), *lic* is linked to its complement “an husband man” by means of the preposition *to*.

(32) The kyngdam of heuenes is *lic* to an husbond man. (MED)

Millward (2012: 99) observes that a number of adjectives that had a complement in the dative in Old English would be followed by a preposition *to* in the later stages of English. Maling (1983: 254) notes that the reduction of morphological endings of transitive adjectives resulted in their reanalysis into intransitive ones. Like Millward, she notes that “oblique NP-complements are typically replaced by PP complements; e.g. dative case is typically replaced by *to*” (ibid.).

In accordance with Ogawa (2014), the presence of a preposition behind *near* or *like* is considered here as a positive test for adjectivehood, since prepositions should not be able to take additional prepositions, except for complex prepositions. *Near* has undergone a similar development as *like*, since during the transitional period *near* was used intransitively with the preposition *to*. Ogawa (2014), in his study of the grammaticalization of *near*, suggests that it proceeded along a continuum from a transitive adjective to an intransitive adjective and finally to preposition. As an intransitive adjective, *near* was followed by the dative preposition *to*. Just like in the case of *near*, the presence of the preposition helps disambiguate the categorial status of *like*.

The compatibility of *like* with the preposition, however, began declining after the Middle English period, and the phrase “like to” is nowadays considered obsolete. *Like* could occur with a rich variety of prepositions during its heyday. The MED mentions, besides *to*, the following prepositions: *of*, *til*, *unto*, *with*, *after*, *toward*, *unto*.

In Ross’s view (1972), ‘preposition deletion’ can be used as one of the parameters to identify where on the cline of adjectivehood a word is positioned. Those adjectives that must be followed by a preposition have more adjectival content than those which can also occur without the preposition such as *near* (33).

(33) The shed is *near* (to) the barn. (Ross, 1972)

As regards *like*, Ross notes that “deletion is virtually obligatory, except for the archaic *like unto*” (1972: 318). The increasing compatibility with other prepositions during the ME period can also be considered as a reaction to *like* losing its adjectival status and as an expression of the need for an anchor in the form of a preposition that would ‘protect’ its adjectiveness.

2.5.10. “like” in phrases

Despite the fact that *like* predominantly occurs in the predicative function which is one of the reasons why it has been reanalyzed as a preposition, *like* could also productively occur in the attributive function until the ME period. The position of *like* would be either prenominal or postnominal. In Present Day English, *like* only rarely occurs in the attributive position, except for a few relics. In the majority of cases, it has been substituted with *similar* in this function. The fossilization of a word in some constructions represents a common byproduct of grammaticalization. In these chunks, these words are conserved in their original meaning and form. While the phrases “as like as” and “in like manner” are still common in Present Day English, “in like wise” has undergone lexicalization into “likewise”. In these constructions, *like* is unambiguously adjectival, since it is part of a noun phrase, standing between a preposition and a noun. The loss of productivity is one of the concomitants of grammaticalization, as the distribution becomes highly restricted and only occurs in a limited number of contexts. The following are fossilized expressions that have been in use since the Middle English era.

2.5.10.1. “as like as”

The construction “as....as” expresses a comparison to the same degree (Quirk et al., 1985: 458), that is to say, when two entities that are being compared share the degree of a given quality. Since the nucleus of this construction must be an adjective (or an adverb), it can be assumed that all instances of *like* in this construction are adjectival. The position between two conjunctions prevents *like* in this construction from being reanalyzed into a preposition.

During the OE period, the construction looked like “swa gelíc swa” (34) (Visser, 1963: 890). The *Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* also mentions the following combinations such as *so...as* or *so...that*. In her quantitative analysis of comparative constructions, Ikalyuk (to be published) showed that Old English had various means of expressing explicit comparison such as the construction *swa...swa* which was found to be the most productive. There are also instances when one of the components of the comparative construction is missing, as illustrated in the ME

instance (35). Dušková et al. (2009: 2.2.) also identify *like* in this construction as unambiguously adjectival, as illustrated in (36).

(34) *Swá gelíc swá* ðú æt swæsendum sitte, (BTAD)

(35) *As lyke* they wente bodely with our lady. (OED)

(36) They are *as like as* two peas. (Dušková et al., 2009: 2.2)

2.5.10.2. “*in lyke wyse*”

This phrase is no longer common in Present Day English, since it has been substituted by the lexicalized *likewise*. Both the original prepositional phrase and the merged adverb fulfill the function of an adverbial. Despite the general tendency of English to evolve towards more analytical constructions, *likewise* has undergone coalescence, which Lehmann (1985: 307) defines as “the increase in bondedness”. In the phrase under observation, two adjacent words, i.e. an adjective *like* and a noun *wise*, collapsed together, while the preposition *in* underwent erosion. The OED identifies 1443 as the year when the first occurrence of fused *likewise* is attested. Up until this final fusion, there must have been variation between the two semantically equivalent variants, until eventually *likewise* substituted the other alternative by the 18th century. Even though *-wise* is nowadays used as a combining form in words like *clockwise*, its etymon is the noun *wise* which meant “manner, mode, fashion, style” (OED) and “was used in various kinds of adverbial expressions [...], in which it was qualified by an adjective or a noun with or without a governing preposition” (OED). Regarding the spelling in Middle English, OED lists a plethora of spelling variants among which are instances when the preposition *in* is spelled together with *like* such as “inlike wise”.

2.5.10.3. “*in like manner*”

Another expression that deserves our attention is “in like manner” which was used as a semantic equivalent of the phrase “in like wise” and is nowadays considered somewhat archaic, according to the OED. Unlike *likewise* whose components lost their independence, this spelling of the phrase has remained almost unaltered since the Middle English period. Just like in the previous expression, *like* is a component of a noun phrase introduced by a preposition and followed by a noun. In addition to the most frequent preposition *in*, we can also find “on like manner” or prepositionless “like manner”. In some cases, the preposition and the adjective merge, i.e. “onlyke maner”. As the following n-gram chart shows, the frequency of the expression has been

rapidly decreasing which can be related to the fact that *like* was losing its adjectival status, even in the fossilized phrases.

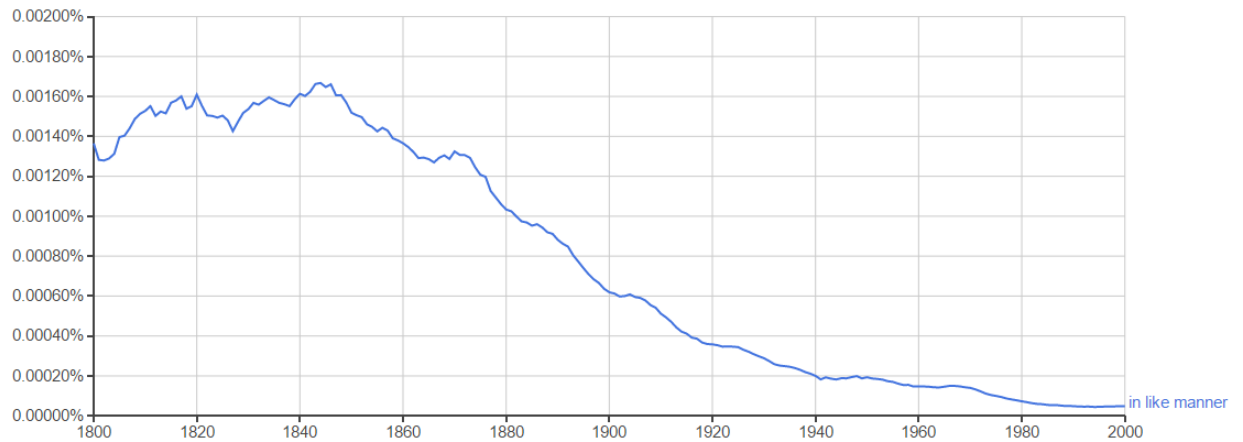


Figure 1. Frequency of “in like manner”

While none of the aforementioned parameters alone is specific to the category of adjectives, words that display the combination of these attributes can be considered more adjectival than prepositional.

3. Hypothesis

The analytical part consists of a qualitative and quantitative¹⁸ analysis of the sample extracted from the corpora of Old and Middle English which both represent a period of English when the first instances of the prepositional *like* were emerging. Having affinities with both the category of adjectives and prepositions, the status of *like* during this time was anything but clear-cut.

Decategorization of *like* from A to P resulted in uncertainty as to which category it should be assigned to. Each of the categories possesses typical attributes which are usually not shared with other word classes. In accordance with the theory of unidirectionality, the assumption would, then, be that as *like* was undergoing grammaticalization, it would be gradually losing its adjectival attributes, which would, in turn, be replaced by the prepositional ones.

Ten parameters were, therefore, established to position the instances of *like* along a cline of adjectivehood. The extracted sample was then assessed according to the following criteria of adjectivehood. The instances of *like* were analyzed as to whether:

1. they can freely occur in both attributive and predicative function;
2. they are gradable, using analytical or periphrastic forms;
3. they can be modified with a degree adverb;
4. they occur with a copular or a lexical verb;
5. they have lost all of their morphological inflections;
6. they are positioned in front of a noun phrase;
7. they can occur in coordinate constructions with other adjectives;
8. the determiner is positioned in front of *like*;
9. they are followed by another preposition;
10. they are part of a fixed expression.

This study is based on the hypothesis that the decrease in the frequency of instances of *like* that would meet the criteria for adjectivehood would correlate with the increase in those examples that possess predominantly prepositional features. It should be, however, noted that none of these parameters is specific to the category of adjectives as well as that not all members of the word class possess all of the aforementioned features.

¹⁸ Since the number of occurrences were extremely low in some cases after applying restrictions on the initial query, the quantitative analysis was not carried out in all parameters

4. Method

The aim of this study was to observe morphological and syntactic behavior of *like*, whilst this adjective was undergoing grammaticalization into a preposition. By means of a corpus-based study, the results were statistically analyzed to determine where on the cline of adjectivehood the individual instances of *like* should be positioned. Assuming that the individual adjectival parameters were not lost all at once, the behavior of each attribute was analyzed diachronically in each of the two corpora to determine the conditions and mechanisms that accompanied their loss.

Using the *Czech National Corpus* interface, the sample was extracted from *The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose* (Taylor, Warner, Pintzuk and Beths, 2003) and *The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English*, second edition (Kroch and Taylor, 2000), as they cover two consecutive stages of the history of the English language during which *like* was undergoing grammaticalization into a preposition.

While the Old English corpus contains approx. 1.5 million words, the size of the Middle English corpus is slightly smaller, containing approx. 1.2 million words. The sample of both corpora consists of prose text samples which should ensure their comparability as regards writers' stylistic choices.

Since both corpora are syntactically annotated for parts of speech using the same form of annotation, the queries were restricted to those instances of *like* which were tagged as adjectival. It should be, however, noted that syntactic tagging in the individual corpora does not always correspond to the standard classification of word classes, especially in the case of words such as *like* which are undergoing decategorization and whose categorial status is especially ambiguous. Even with setting the limitation to adjectives, the queries yielded instances that were more adverbial in their distribution. Those instances of *like* that were tagged as prepositional were excluded from the sample, as it was assumed that those cases were already subject to grammaticalization.¹⁹

¹⁹ While the YCOE corpus yielded only 6 instances of *gelic* tagged as prepositions, the PPCME2 corpus contained 9 instances of *like* tagged as prepositions. The majority of these instances contained *like* in combination with lexical verbs such as *far* (4 hits), e.g. *The thridde is foule wordes , that fareth lyk fyr , that right anon brenneth the herte*

Regarding extraction from the corpora, morphological endings and typographical variation had to be taken into account. Surprisingly, the search in the ME corpus did not yield any inflected forms of *like*. The inflected forms of adjectives were, therefore, only taken into consideration during the extraction from the YCOE corpus. While synthetic comparative and superlative forms were more frequent during the OE period, there were some occurrences in the Middle English period. The query for the ME analytical and synthetic comparison was ran separately. Since variation in spelling increased during the ME period, a plethora of spelling variants had to be included in the PPCME2 query. The spelling variants considered in the queries were based on the forms listed on the OED website. While the queries provided a plethora of material for analysis, it is undeniable that other cognates of *like* were also available during that period, e.g. *ylike*.

Taking the aforementioned points into consideration, the queries for the YCOE and the PPCME2 corpora were as follows:

[word="[Gg]el[iy]i?c.*"& tag="ADJ.*"]

[word="[Ll][iey]i?y?e?c?j?h?k?e?"& tag="ADJ.*"]

Next, the queries were restricted to those instances of *like* that were followed by a preposition:

[word="[Gg]el[iy]i?c.*"& tag="ADJ.*"][tag="P"]

[word="[Ll][iey]i?y?e?c?j?h?k?e?"& tag="ADJ.*"][tag="P"]

To restrict the search to those instance of *like* which were preceded by a degree modifier the following queries were used:

[tag="Q.*"|tag="ADV"] [word="[Gg]el[iy]i?c.*"&tag="ADJ.*"]

[tag="Q.*"|tag="ADV"] [word="[Ll][iey]i?y?e?c?j?h?k?e?"& tag="ADJ.*"]

In the following section, the results yielded from the queries listed above will be analyzed.

5. Analysis

5.1. Analysis of Data

In this section, the criteria of adjectivehood, established in the theoretical part, will be used to determine the behavior of *like* in the YCOE and PPCME2 corpus, containing the OE sample and the ME sample respectively. Each of the parameters will be applied to both the OE and ME corpus to establish the extent to which the adjectival properties of *like* were either lost or retained.

<i>Corpus</i>	<i>Time period</i>	<i>Word count</i>
<i>YCOE</i>	O1	2,190
	O2	92,050
	O3	251,630
	O4	67,380
<i>PPCME2</i>	MX1	62,596
	M1	195,494
	M2	93,999
	M23	17,013
	M24	35,591
	M3	385,994
	M34	99,994
	MX4	5,168
	M4	260,116

Table 2. Word count in the individual periods²⁰

Because of the uneven distribution of texts (cf. Table 2) in the two corpora, i.p.m. frequency (instances per million) was used instead of the number of occurrences in the quantitative analysis. Regarding the numbers of occurrences, the query for the OE cognate of *like*, *gelic*, yielded 371 instances in the YCOE corpus, while there were 232 instances of *like* found in the PPCME2 corpus. Therefore, the i.p.m. frequency of *gelic* in Old English was 226.19, while *like* was found in the ME corpus with the frequency of 170.82 i.p.m. These numbers are contrary to what one would expect, since the assumption was that the frequency of *like* would be higher in Middle English than it was in Old English due to the process of grammaticalization (cf. section 2.1.8.).

²⁰ Adapted from <http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/corpora/PPCME2/basic.html>

However, the comparison of the individual sub-periods of the PPCME2 corpus showed a definite increase in frequency in the course of the Middle English period with a slight decrease in the M24 sub-period, as illustrated in figure 2.

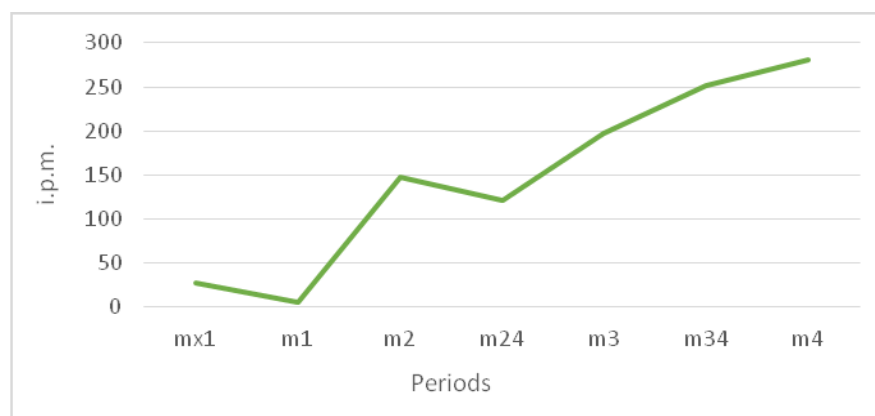


Figure 2. I.p.m. frequency of *like* in Middle English

5.1.1. Syntactic function

As has already been explained in section 2.5.1., a prototypical adjective should be able to occur both in the attributive and the predicative function. This section will focus on *like* when used attributively, since *like* is significantly restricted in this function in PDE. In the attributive position, PDE *like* can mostly be found in fixed phrases such as “in like manner” or “like mind”²¹ or has been substituted by the adjective *similar* with approximately equivalent meaning. The assumption would, therefore, be that as *like* was undergoing grammaticalization, the inventory of noun phrases which it could modify was becoming smaller. The predicative function of *like* is not taken into consideration, since both prepositions and adjectives can occur in this position.

5.1.1.1. Old English

Among the most frequent words that the attributive *gelic* modified in the OE period were the following nouns: *wuldor* (glory), *tintreg* (torment), *wæg* (wave) and *onginn/angina* (beginning). Given that the YCOE corpus predominantly consists of the historical and religious treatises, there is a preponderance for certain semantic classes, especially those related to biblical writing. The search also yielded a couple of individual instances of words from religious terminology such as *yfel* (evil), *geswencednes* (sorrow) or *wracu* (suffering) or from botanical terminology such as

²¹ “In Early Modern English frequently with *the* and often preceded by a quantifier” (OED).

leáf (leaf), *wudu* (wood) or *wyrt* (plant). Furthermore, the list of nouns, modified by *gelíc*, included basic vocabulary such as *drenc*, (drink) as well as a group of words that are semantically non-specific such as *máþ* (measure) and *hlét* (lot). These findings indicate that there were yet no restrictions as to the distribution of *gelíc* in the attributive function.

(37) *þæt ealle men hæbben gelícne wisdom on heofenum.* (That all men have similar wisdom in heaven.)

(38) *seo wæs swilce eac gerisenlice gehleodad mid gelíce stane* (It was also accordingly covered with similar stones.)

As illustrated in (37) and (38), the inflected forms of *gelíc* in the attributive function were common in Old English. Positioned in front of the nouns *wisdom* and *stane*, *gelíc* functions as a modifier. Example (38) contains *gelíc* which is part of a prepositional phrase with *mid* functioning as the head of the phrase. In PDE, *like* would be ungrammatical in these positions.

5.1.1.2. Middle English

The PPCME2 section of the sample contained a smaller proportion of the attributive *like* and a greater proportion of the predicative *like*. To be more precise it was only around 10% out of all ME instances that were found to occur in the attributive function. This imbalance in distribution was probably caused by the increasingly prepositional character of *like*, since prepositions usually occur in this context.

Compared to the Old English period, *like* became much more restricted in the attributive function during the Middle English period. An analysis of the distribution of the attributive *like* reveals that the inventory of nouns has been considerably narrowed down between the two stages of English. Unlike in the OE period when *gelíc* occurred with a variety of nouns, as was mentioned in the previous section, the distribution in Middle English is much more restricted. As the individual instances will show, *like* seemed to collocate mostly with the category of general nouns.

(39) *And lyke wyse as a childe , havynge noo nouryce nor guyder deputed to hym* (And likewise as a child, having no nourice, nor guider deputed to him)

(40) *and dedyn in lyk maner to Og the kyng of Basan* (and did in like manner to Oog the king of Basan)

As expected the most frequent common nouns to co-occur with *like* were *wise* and *maner*, with 8 instances and 6 instances respectively. In all instances, *like* is part of a prepositional phrase “in like manner” (40), while *wyse* was also found without the preposition, as illustrated in (39). It is precisely these constructions that gave rise to the PDE fixed phrases expressing the meaning of “in a similar way”. These two expressions will be discussed in more detail in section 5.1.10. The rest of the occurrences of the attributive *like* were in combination with the general nouns such as *partyes* (parts), *disposicioun* (disposition), *mater* (matter) or *order* (order), to name but a few.

5.1.2. Gradability

One essential feature that distinguishes the majority of adjectives from prepositions is the property of gradability. The assumption was that as *like* was undergoing grammaticalization, it was simultaneously losing its gradability. As a result of the loss of this property, the comparative and the superlative forms decreased in frequency.

5.1.2.1. Old English

While the *Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* lists a number of quotations in which *gelic* occurs in the synthetic comparatives and superlatives²², the frequency of these forms was strikingly low in the YCOE corpus, as can be seen in Table 3. They comprised only approximately 7% out of the whole OE sample. Despite the scarcity of instances, the findings show a decreasing trend between the O2 and O3 sub-periods, which would be in accordance with the assumption that there is a correlation between the loss of gradability and the grammaticalization of adjectives into prepositions. As regards the periphrastic constructions, there were no occurrences in the OE corpus, since this variant became frequent only in the later periods.

Degree	O2	O3
Comparative	7	4
Superlative	12	4

Table 3. Frequency of the synthetic comparatives and superlatives in Old English

²² The YCOE corpus contained 25 instances of the superlative form *gelicost* which were, however, tagged as adverbials. While these instances were not taken into consideration in this study, some of them might be classified as adjectives or prepositions rather than adverbs.

(41) þæt he wæs myccle *gelícra* slæpendum menn þonne deadum. (The body was *more like* a sleeping man than dead one.)

(42) he bið *gelicost* ðæm men ðe his towirpð. (He is *most like* the men in his opposition)

As illustrated in the previous examples, the comparatives (41) and the superlatives (42) predominantly occurred in the predicate position, following a copular verb. Example (41) illustrates an instance of *gelíc* in the comparative form (*gelícra*) which is also premodified by a quantifier *myccle* (much). Both the graded form and the quantifier suggest that, according to the parameter of gradability, *like* should be classified as an adjective rather than a preposition in this context.

5.1.2.2. Middle English

In the course of the ME period, a number of gradable adjectives replaced their synthetic comparative and superlative forms with the periphrastic ones. Based on the findings from the PPCME2 corpus, it seems that all of the synthetic forms of *gelíc* were lost before the beginning of the ME period, as the sample did not contain any instances of comparative constructions of this type.²³

Surprisingly, the extraction from the PPCME2 corpus yielded no instances of the superlative forms and only 2 instances of the periphrastic comparative forms (see Table 4). Together, they compromise less than 1% of the ME sample, which compared to the 7% of the OE synthetic instances, seems like a rapid decline in frequency. This scarcity of evidence, in all probability, does not reflect the situation in the ME period, since *like* continues to occur in periphrastic forms even in PDE. Nevertheless, the existence of these instances shows that *like* continued to be gradable even in the ME period.

Degree	M2	M3	M4
Comparative	-	1	1
Superlative	-	-	-

Table 4. Frequency of the periphrastic comparatives and superlatives in Old English

²³The OED, however, lists a number of quotations containing the synthetic forms of *like* from later periods such as the following quotation from 1684: The unskilfulness of the Dissector, who was *liker* a Butcher than an Anatomist.

The following two examples contain the only two periphrastic comparative forms of *like* extracted from the ME corpus. Interestingly, both instances were found within the same text, i.e. *The Life of St. Edmund*.

(43) they thought he was *more lyke* an angel than a man.

(44) bot forþi it is *more liche* vnto hym, when it is in puretee of spirit , for he is a spirit.

As a result of the process of layering, both adjectival and prepositional instances of *like* could often be found side by side. Two instances listed above are perfect examples of this coexistence, since they seem to exhibit various degrees of prepositionhood. As has already been determined, these two occurrences of *like* share the attribute of gradability. However, the position of the indefinite determiner *an* behind *like* in example (43) indicates that *like* should be classified as a preposition (cf. 2.5.8.). Example (44), on the other hand, contains intransitive *like* which seems to be more adjectival than prepositional, since it is linked to its complement via the preposition *vnto* (cf. section 2.5.9.).

Although the findings show a sharp decline in frequency of comparatives and superlatives between Old and Middle English, *like* continued to be gradable in Early Modern English as well as in Present Day English. If one considers the capacity for gradability as a semantic rather than a strictly categorial feature, the fact that *like* continues to be gradable does not represent an obstacle to its categorial shift into a preposition. Considering that *like*, both as an adjective and as a preposition, expresses the notion of similarity which is an inherently scalar feature.

5.1.3. Modification by a degree modifier

An essential prerequisite for word's capacity to take degree modifiers is the attribute of gradability which was already examined in the section above. This section analyzes whether there was any change between the OE and ME period regarding the ability of *like* to combine with degree modifiers.

5.1.3.1. Old English

Since *gelic* was behaving more like a typical adjective in the OE period than in the ME period, it was expected that the frequency of degree modifiers in the OE period would be higher than in the following period. To find all of the relevant instances, the query was restricted to those instances

of *gelíc* that were preceded by a quantifier or an adverb. In order to demonstrate their gradability, only degree modifiers were then selected from the sample.

<i>Period</i>	<i>O2</i>	<i>O23</i>	<i>O24</i>	<i>O3</i>	<i>Overall</i>
<i>Frequency</i>	11	1	-	3	15

Table 5. Frequency of the degree modifiers in Old English

In all 15 instances listed above, degree modifiers are positioned in front of *gelíc*. As can be seen in Table 5, the majority of degree modifiers (11 hits) occurred in the O2 sub-period. *Swiðe*, the most frequent degree modifier to collocate with *gelíc*, occurred with the highest frequency in the O2 sub-period (4 hits). While there was only one instance of *swiðe* found in the O23 sub-period, there were two instances in the O3 sub-period. Some of the most frequent degree modifiers were as follows:

(45) *swiðe/ suiðe* (very much) (7 hits) *Is eft oðer bebod ðisum swiðe gelíc*

(46) *swá* (so) (2 hits) *Ryhtlice sio stow wæs swá gelíce naman genemned*

(47) *genóg* (enough) (2 hits) *ðincð me genog gelíc ðæm ðe ðu ær sædes*

(48) *eallunga* (altogether) (1 hit) *þeah ne bioð eallunga gelíce*

(49) *myccle* (much) (1 hit) *þæt he wæs myccle gelícra slæpendum menn þonne deadum*

(50) *raðor* (rather) (1 hit) *Ða cwæð ic : nese , ne do ic hi na ðe raðor gelíce*

(51) *hwæthwugu* (somewhat) (1 hit) *ac hit hæfð þeah hwæthwugu gelíces goode*²⁴

Example (47) is particularly interesting, since it illustrates the position of *genóg* (enough) in front of *gelíc*.²⁵ In Maling's view (1983: 262-3), the position of *enough* relative to *gelíc* represents the only purely syntactic criterion of adjectivehood. This specifier, according to Maling, always follows adjectives and precedes prepositions. Based on this criterion, *gelíc* in these two instances seems to be more prepositional than adjectival, since there were no instances found when *genóg* followed *gelíc*.

²⁴ In this example, *hwæthwugu* seems to be the head of the phrase.

²⁵ The other instance of *genóg* in Old English also shows that this specifier is positioned in front of *gelíc*, e.g. *Is þeah genog gelíc þam spelle ðe wit æfterspyriað*.

5.1.3.2. Middle English

The only degree modifiers that occurred in Old English as well as in Middle English were *swiþe*, *so* and *muche*. Among the remaining quantifiers, there were individual instances of *sumwhat* and *all*. The distribution of degree modifiers between the individual sub-periods seems to be relatively uniform, as illustrated in Table 6.

Period	M3	M34	M4	Overall
Frequency	4	3	3	12

Table 6. Frequency of the degree modifiers in Middle English²⁶

(52) *So/soo* (4 hits) for he was *soo lyke* to Crist

(53) *swiþe* (1 hit) Himm sinndenn *swiþe like*

(54) *sumwhat* (1 hit) and se þi-silf, *sumwhat liik* to þi Lord Iesu Crist him þat þou louest

(55) *muche* (1 hit) ben there 12 divisiouns embelif , *muche like* to the shap of the azemutz

(56) *all* (1 hit) the bark þere of is *all lyk* coles

In sum, there seems to be no restriction to the use of degree modifiers with *like* in the ME period, since some of the quantifiers continued to co-occur with *like*²⁷. As has been already mentioned in relation to the attribute of gradability, the fact that *like* continued to co-occur with degree modifiers should not be considered as an argument against its prepositional status, since the notion of similarity seems to be gradable regardless of the categorial status of a word.

5.1.4. The verbal component

Depletion and expansion of distribution are both essential concomitants of grammaticalization. As a result of these processes, grammaticalized words begin to occur in contexts in which lexical words do not typically occur or they cease to be used in some contexts specific to the category of lexical words. Therefore, one would expect that as *like* was being reanalyzed into a preposition, its distribution expanded from collocating only with the verb *to be* to the other copular and lexical verbs. The following section will map with what classes of verbs did the increasingly

²⁶ The numbers in the table include two instances of the periphrastic comparative forms that were discussed in section 5.1.2.

²⁷ The fact that the other degree modifiers that were found in the YCOE corpus were not found in the PPCME2 corpus does not mean that they were not attested at all.

prepositional *like* co-occur. Moreover, it will describe how the extension of contexts proceeded, i.e. which classes of verbs were first to collocate with *like* as a preposition.

5.1.4.1. Old English

In accordance with the theory of unidirectionality, one would expect that during the OE period *gelíc* was mostly found in the contexts typical for adjectives. Therefore, the copular verb *to be* would be the most frequent collocate of the adjectival *gelíc*. As Dušková et al. note (2009: 8.61), out of all verbs only copular verbs take adjectives as their complements. Prepositions, on the other hand, are not usually found in this context, unless the verb *to be* has a locative meaning, e.g. *He is in the car*.

As illustrated in Table 7, the OE sub-periods of the YCOE corpus contained 74 instances of the copular verb *to be* with *gelíc* in the predicative function. The table illustrates the scarcity of lexical verbs in combination with *gelíc* during the OE period. There are only two instances in the corpus when *gelíc* was found in the proximity of the verbs *go* and *tell* which cannot be taken into consideration, since they fulfill a different syntactic function.

Type of verb	-	O2	O3
BE	11	23	40
TELL	-	1	-
LIE	-	-	1

Table 7. Distribution of the OE verbs with *gelíc*

The YCOE corpus contained 63 instances of the copular verb *to be* immediately preceding *gelíc* (cf. Table 7). As illustrated in (57), *his fæder* functions as a NP complement to *gelíc*. The same word order pattern can be found both in the OE sentence and its PDE paraphrase.

(57) He is *gelíc* his fæder. (He is like his father.)

(58) þæt he wæs mycele *gelícra* slæpendum menn þonne deadum. (The body was *more like* a sleeping man than dead one.)

Verbs, however, were not always adjacent to their complements, especially in Old English when word order was not as fixed as it is nowadays. The search also yielded 11 instances when an adverb or a quantifier was positioned between the copular *be* and *gelíc*, such as in example (58).

As regards lexical verbs directly preceding *gelic*, there were only 2 instances in the YCOE corpus. Out of these, there was one occurrence when *gelic* was dependent on the verb *gæð* and one occurrence of the verb *tealde*. However, *gelic* in (59) is in the attributive function and cannot be taken into consideration when observing the extension of *gelic* into the prepositional contexts. As illustrated in (59), *gelic* modifies a noun *bot* rather than linking the verb to its complement. Example (60), however, contains an instance of *gelic* governed by the verb *licgan* (lie). It should also be noted that example (61) contains an object complement *eagum*. Example (62) illustrates the co-occurrence of *gelic* with the verb *a-cennan* (to produce).

(59) ðær gæð *gelic* bot to eallum.

(60) and slapendum *gelicost* læg

(61) nu he hie tealde *gelice* ðæs bearnes cwale beforan ðæs fæder eagum. (he considered them alike in front of father eyes.)

(62) On ðan beoð henna akende *gelice*

Surprisingly, there were no instances of other copular verbs such as *seem*. The reason for the scarcity of other copular verbs was probably that they only developed towards the end of the OE period. There were also no instances of *gelic* in combination with the verb *byncan* (to seem).

The co-occurrence of the lexical *have* with *gelic* does not have any particular significance for grammaticalization of *gelic*, since in all 6 instances *gelic* functions attributively. As illustrated in example (63), the verb *have* expresses possession of *wisdom* which is premodified by the unambiguously adjectival *gelicne*.

(63) þæt ealle men hæbben *gelicne* wisdom on heofenum. (That all men have alike wisdom in heaven.)

In sum, the preponderance of the copular verb *to be* in the YCOE sample suggests that *gelic* was behaving more like an adjective than a preposition during the OE period.

5.1.4.2. Middle English

The PPCME2 sample shows that between the OE and the ME period the distribution of *like* expanded. Nevertheless, there were still some similarities between these two stages of English. Since *gelic* was mostly governed by the verb *to be* in Old English (see Table 7), it was not

surprising to find that in the majority of the ME cases *like* co-occurred with this linking verb as well (see Table 8).

Type of verb	M1	M2	M3	M4
BE	-	16	48	12
MAKE	-	5	4	4
SEEM/APPEAR/LOOK	-	-	1	2
ARRAY/SHAPED/LAY	-	-	1	3
GO & FAR	-	-	-	2
HURTLE	-	-	-	1

Table 8. Distribution of the ME verbs with *like*

Overall, the search yielded 76 instances in which the copular verb was directly preceding *like*, cf. Table 8. The majority of examples followed a similar word order pattern as illustrated in example (64), that is to say, *like* was positioned between the copular verb and its complement which was in some instances introduced via a preposition, just like in example (64).

(64) He is *lyk* to hym. (He is like him.)

Despite the preponderance of the verb *to be*, the ME sample also contained some instances of other copular verbs, which gradually started to emerge in the course of the ME period, since there were not found in the YCOE corpus. The instances of *like* in combination with these verbs were, however, still low in frequency (only 3 instances). *Like* was found in combination with the following copular verbs: *seem* (ex. 65), *appear* (ex. 66) and *look* (ex. 67). All three examples seem more prepositional than adjectival, since adjectives cannot occur in this context. As can be seen in Table 8, all of them appeared towards the latter half of the ME period. Since all of these copular verbs are frequent collocates of *like* in PDE, they must have continued to gain in frequency during the EME period.

(65) that semeth *lik* the maladie of hernia. (That seems like the malady of hernia.)

(66) In his tyme þe sunne appered *lich* blood. (In his time the sun appeared like blood)

(67) it loked *lich* no siluir. (It looked like no silver.)

Surprisingly, *make* was the most frequent verbal collocates of *like*, apart from the verb *be*. All 13 occurrences were in the passive, as illustrated in (68). In this example, *like* introduces an object complement *vanite*. The majority of instances (9 hits) was followed by the preposition *to* just like in example (68).

(68) Man is made *lich* to vanite. (Man is made *like* to the vanity.)

In addition to copular verbs, the sample also contained a small number of lexical verbs which were either referring to a state or a movement. The stative verbs that were found in combination with *like* were the following: *array* (2 hits), *shape* (1 hit) and *lie* (1 hit). *Like* in these examples describes the appearance or, just like in example (69), the king-like attire of a person.

(69) and thenne he was a-rayde *lyke* a kynge in a ryche clothe of golde (And then he was arrayed like a king in rich golden clothes.)

In example (69), the verb *a-rayde* is followed by an adverbial of manner which is governed by *lyke*. In addition to the state verbs, the search also yielded three verbs describing movement, i.e. *far* (70), *go* (71) and *hurtle* (72).

(70) for I far *liche* a man þat louyth wel hys wife. (Because I behave like a man that loves his wife very much.)

(71) þat in hir ȝong age sche went *lich* a man with a clerk to Attenes. (That in her young age she went like a man with a clerk to Athenes,)

(72) And than they went to the batayle agayne , and so hurteled togydirs *lyke* too rammes (And then they went to the battle again and hurtled together like two rams.)

While the verb *far* could also refer to the movement it seems more likely that in example (70) it refers to the behavior, according to the sense²⁸ listed in the MED. As illustrated in the other example (71), *go* is also followed by an adverbial of manner. In this case, the meaning seems to be that the pope Joan either went dressed like a man or travelled in the way men usually do. Nevertheless, both interpretations of example (71) point to the prepositional *like*, since the verb *go* cannot be followed by an adjective.

²⁸ “To conduct oneself, behave, act (in a certain manner)” (MED).

Based on the available context, it seems that *like* in combination with *go* and *far* describes the circumstances of an action rather than physical movement and proves that the process of grammaticalization was already under way in the M4 period, as the inventory of verbs which could govern *like* was expanding. While both *far* and *go* are not yet used in the sense of movement, they represent an essential link to further grammaticalization.

As was mentioned earlier, the sample contained one more lexical verb that could refer to motion, i.e. *hurtle*. This lexical verb was the only verb to be modified by an adverb in the ME sample as illustrated in (72). Here *lyke* clearly functions as a preposition, since it is governed by a motion verb *hurtle* and specifies the manner of this movement. As can be seen in Table 8, this example comes from the end of the ME period.

While all of the previous instances of *like* were tagged as adjectives, the following table contains occurrences of *like* which were classified as prepositions in the PPCME2 corpus. These prepositional instances of *like* were found co-occurring with *seem*, *far*²⁹ and *send*.

Type of verb	M1	M2	M3	M4
SEEM	-	-	1	-
FAR	-	-	4	-
SEND	-	-	1	-

Table 9. Distribution of the ME verbs with *like* tagged as a preposition

All of the instances listed in table 9 come from the latter half of the ME period. As can be seen in the following two examples which contain the verb *send* (73) and *far* (74), *like* introduces an adverbial of manner.

(73) þe Holy Gost was send *like* a culuer. (The Holy Ghost was send like a dove.)

(74) the Hooly Goost fareth *lyk* fyr. (The Holy Ghost appeared like fire.)

In conclusion, the findings analyzed in this section illustrate the expansion of the inventory of verbs which could co-occur with *like*. While the list of verbs was considerably restricted in the M2 sub-period, the M4 sub-period contained a variety of verbs which could govern *like*. All of the lexical verbs, except for *make*, emerged towards the latter half of the ME period which

²⁹ The verb *fāren* seems to have the meaning “to appear” based on the available context (MED).

suggests that by then *like* expanded its distribution to the contexts in which it could not occur as an adjective. On the basis of available evidence (see Table 9) it seems safe to assume that as *like* continued to grammaticalize in the EME period, the inventory of the verbs with which it could co-occur expanded to the point when there was no restriction at all. In other words, *like* became a fully functional preposition.

5.1.5. Morphological inflections

Another essential distinction between the categories of adjectives and prepositions is that the former class still had inflectional endings in Old English. Between the OE and ME periods, however, even this distinctive feature was lost. Since categorial changes proceed more easily when words are not overtly marked by inflectional endings, the assumption was that the loss of inflections preceded grammaticalization of *like* into a preposition. The loss of inflectional endings is, however, not restricted to the class of adjectives only, since the whole OE inflectional system was eroded during these stages of English.

5.1.5.1. Old English

As expected, the YCOE query yielded *gelic* with a number of various inflectional endings, since the majority of adjectives was still inflected in Old English. Nevertheless, the results showed that *gelic* occurred with the highest frequency in uninflected form (75). As illustrated in Table 10, 186 out of 369 instances of *gelic* were in the nominative case, including 2 instances when the spelling was *geliic*.

(75) þæt he is *gelic* his fæder. (that he is like his father)

	<i>?</i>	<i>O1</i>	<i>O2</i>	<i>O3</i>	<i>M1</i>
<i>Inflection-less</i>	28	-	57	101	-
<i>With inflections</i>	-	1	83	66	1
<i>lic</i>	-	-	1	1	-

Table 10. Distribution of the forms of *gelic* in Old English

The second most frequent inflected form was *gelice*³⁰ (98 instances), which in the majority of cases referred to the nominative plural, as illustrated in (76).

(76) þisum *gelice* drencaſ (drinks similar to this (one))

There were only 15 instances of the accusative singular form in the YCOE corpus, as shown in example (77). It should be, however, noted that there was some variation in the use of inflections in this position, since there were some instances when the form was *gelic*, *gelicne* or *gelice*, depending on the number of the complement in some cases.

(77) ealle men hæbben *gelicne* wisdom on heofenum (all men have similar wisdom in heaven)

There were only 10 instances (78) of *gelic* in the genitive singular and 8 occurrences of *gelic* in the dative case (79).

(78) Nu næfð he naht men *gelices*

(79) Ac hio wæs of suiðe *gelicum* willan

Interestingly, the OE corpus also contained 2 instances, in which the prefix *ge-* had already been eroded, as can be seen in example (80). The form without the prefix, *lic*, could also be found in earlier periods. The following example is especially important, since it contains both the eroded

³⁰ The YCOE corpus also contained 76 instances of *gelice*, which were, however, tagged as adverbs, since the forms were identical during the OE period.

form *lic* and the complete form *gelic* side by side, proving the coexistence of both variants even within the same text.

(80) þæt oðer wæs *lic* anre leon hiwe , and þæt þridde stod anum styrce *gelic*

As has been illustrated in this section, *gelic* was still occurring with some inflectional endings during the OE period. Just like a regular adjective, the majority of forms were in the nominative case.

5.1.5.2. Middle English

When the query for the YCOE corpus was used to search in the PPCME2 corpus, only one occurrence of the inflected form was found from the earliest ME period (1150-1250). As can be seen in (81), *his gelica* most likely means “like him” or “his equal”

(81) oððe ægne his *gelica*

The ME query, modified to include all of the possible adjectival endings, did not yield any instances of the inflected forms of *like*, apart from the variants with, as well as without, the final – *e* which, however, did not have any grammatical function. The variability of spelling was typical for the ME period, and *like* was no exception.

5.1.6. Fixed position

The fixed position of an adjective in front of a NP complement it governs represents an essential prerequisite for grammaticalization of *like* into a preposition, since it is precisely this position in which prepositions usually occur.

5.1.6.1. Old English

Word order in Old English, compared to the ME one, was much more flexible, as adjectives could occur both pre-nominally (83) and post-nominally (82).

(82) Eower word syndon winde *gelice*.

(83) heofena rice is geworden *gelic* senepes corne þæt seow se man on hys æcre

While both *winde* and *senepes* are governed by *gelic*, it is the pre-nominal position in (83) that forms the basis for its grammaticalization into a preposition. The decrease in frequency of adjectives in a post-nominal position was a result of increasingly fixed word order and other

typological changes at the end of the OE period. *Gelic*, being no exception, had gradually become restricted to the position in front of its complement which provided ideal conditions for its reanalysis into a preposition.

5.1.6.2. Middle English

As expected, ME word order was significantly more fixed than the OE one. In the attributive function, *like* preceded its complements. The predicative *like* was likewise positioned between the copular verb and its complement. The emergence of intransitive instances of *like*, that is to say, those followed by a preposition, also might have assisted in fixing the position of NP complements behind *like*. As the changes in language are gradual rather than abrupt, there were occasional instances when *like* was still positioned behind its complement as illustrated in (84).

(84) Y schal be a liere *lich* to ȝou (I shall be like a liar to you.)

As the PDE paraphrase shows, *like* precedes its complement *liar*. An alternative interpretation could be: *I shall be a liar like you* which would indicate that *like* is connected to its complement via a preposition in (84) and therefore the complement is positioned behind *like*.

The default position of *like* would be in front of its complement, as can be seen in (85).

(85) This vertu maketh a man *lyk* to God. (This virtue makes a man similar to God.)

5.1.7. Coordination with the other adjectives

Coordinate constructions can also be useful when one attempts to disambiguate between the words that cannot be easily classified according to word class. The test is carried out by comparing two coordinates, since the category of the ambiguous word can be determined based on the other member of the coordinate construction. The searches yielded only a small number of coordinate constructions containing *like* and another unambiguous adjective. Both positions of the coordinate constructions were included in the search.

5.1.7.1. Old English

As has been already mentioned, the number of coordinate constructions with *gelic* was extremely low. All of the instances found in the YCOE corpus are listed below.

(86) hweðer hi sion ðe þisum *gelice* ðe æce?

(87) witodlice ne sæcge ic na þa wisan *gelice* ac *ungelice*

The example (86) shows *gelice* linked via the alternative conjunction *ðe* (or) to an adjective *æce* (eternal). As illustrated in (87), *gelic* was also found with its antonym *ungelic* linked by a coordinating conjunction *ac* (but).

(88) ure hælend Godes sunu *efenece & gelic* his fæder

Example (88) illustrates that there were instances when *gelic* is both conjoined with an adjective *efenece* (co-eternal) and also introduces the NP complement “his fæder”.

Despite the scarcity of evidence, the aforementioned examples show that *gelic* could occur in coordinate constructions in Old English.

5.1.7.2. Middle English

The PPCEME2 corpus just like the YCOE corpus contained a surprisingly small number of coordinate constructions. Only one instance was found in which *like* was a member of the coordinate pair in the ME period. Just like in the OE example (89), *like* both introduced a NP complement “oure lorde” and was conjoined with an adjective *clene* (clean). The ME example, however, shows that the noun phrase is linked to *like* via the preposition *to*.

(89) we schulde alle hafe bene *clene and lyke* to oure lorde

In sum, the findings show that *like* could occur in the coordinate constructions during both periods. The fact that in some instances such as ((88) and (89)), *like* is followed by a complement does not prevent it from appearing in coordinate constructions with intransitive adjectives such as *clene*. The existence of those two instances is in accordance with Maling’s assertion (1983: 260) that “coordination is possible even without category identity”, since both the transitive and the intransitive adjectives occurred within the same coordination.

5.1.8. Position of the determiner

The sample was also assessed according to the following principle. If the determiner preceded *like*, then the word under observation seemed to be more adjectival than prepositional, since this is a position in which adjectives typically occur. If the determiner followed *like*, then its categorial status was considered to be more prepositional than adjectival.

5.1.8.1. Old English

The position of the determiner in relation to *gelic* did not prove to be of much help in the YCOE corpus, since there were no determiners (definite as well as indefinite articles) preceding *gelic*. Likewise, there were no demonstratives or possessive pronouns in front of the word under observation, the presence of which could have also helped determine the categorial status of *gelic*.

5.1.8.2. Middle English

Out of the 232 instances of *like* in the PPCME2 corpus, only 2 instances were directly preceded by determiners such as an indefinite article (*a*) or a demonstrative pronoun (*þat*). In both examples, *like* modified nouns such as *myracle* (90) and *order* (91) respectively.

(90) was shewid there a *lyke* myracle

(91) And siþin foure lescuns red of þe new lay wid þat *like* ordir by-fore

The preferred position seemed to be the one supporting the prepositional status of *like*, since in the vast majority of instances, *like* was followed by determiners, i.e. indefinite articles (92) as well as demonstratives (93).

(92) Then anon com oure lady *lyke* a fayre mayden

(93) Es any payne in helle *lyke* this payne ?

As can be seen from the following table (11), both of the M3 sub-period as well as the M4 sub-period contained 24 and 25 instances of determiners positioned in front *like*. There were no instances found in the other two sub-periods of the PPCME2 corpus.

<i>Period</i>	<i>M3</i>	<i>M4</i>
<i>i.p.m.</i>	86.61	83.38
<i>Indefinite article</i>	15	22
<i>Definite article</i>	7	3
<i>Demonstrative</i>	2	-
<i>Total</i>	24	25

Table 11. Distribution of the determiners in the ME period

An analysis of the individual types of determiners showed the predominance of indefinite articles (37 instances) in the sample. Some of the noun phrases in the sample, which were specified with indefinite articles, were also modified by the other adjectives, as illustrated in (94).

(94) Lucas the Butler that lay *lyke* a dede man undir the horse feete

In addition to the indefinite articles, the PPCME2 corpus also contained 10 occurrences of *like* followed by definite articles. In 6 instances, the noun phrase that the definite article specified is followed by an of-construction (95).

(95) to whom is *lik* the equacion of his argument in his epicicle

There were only two instances of *like* which were followed by a demonstrative determiner, e.g. (96) and (97).

(96) Es any payne in helle *lyke* this payne?

(97) how is þis kyngedome of heven *like* þis kynge ?

Both of these questions include a copular verb *to be* which governs its complements “lyke this payne” and “like þis kynge” respectively. These instances illustrate the comparative use of *like*, as the first element of comparison “any payne in helle” in (96) and “þis kyngedome of heven” is measured against the latter element of comparison “this payne” and “þis kynge” via *like*. Both of these instances of *like* seem ambiguous and can be regarded as a preposition as well as an adjective which would be in accordance with the process of layering during which the individual functions are difficult to distinguish one from another.

5.1.9. The presence of preposition

As has already been explained in section 2.2., *like*, a transitive adjective, took its NP complements without a preposition in Old English. Since the concord between the complement and the adjective was expressed via the dative case, there was no need to indicate the link otherwise. Nevertheless, due to the systemic erosion of inflections, a number of prepositions emerged that substituted the function of inflections. That is to say, the synthetic form of the relation between *like* and its complement was substituted by the analytical one.

5.1.9.1. Old English

As expected, *gelic* was linked to its complement without a preposition in the majority of instances. That is to say, the sample of 371 instances of *gelic* contained only 24 instances in which *gelic* was followed by a preposition. Nevertheless, as will be shown, these prepositions were all part of adverbial clauses, therefore they cannot be taken into consideration, since they were independent of *gelic*. The findings, therefore, suggest that predicative *gelic* was predominantly used transitively (linked to its complement without a preposition), as illustrated in example (98), in which *coccele* is a complement to *gelic*.

(98) eac hyre corn beoð *gelice* coccele

(99) Ne fintst þu na *gelice* on mannum fæder & sunu. (You do not find a similar father and son among people.)

As illustrated in example (99), the prepositional phrase “on mannum” is not governed by *gelic* but rather functions as an adverbial. Word order in this example, compared to the one in PDE, is highly variable, since the complements of *gelic* do not directly follow this adjective.

While the YCOE corpus did not contain any instances of *gelic* followed by a PP complement, the *Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon dictionary* contains one such example (100).

(100) Ic ænig ne mætte wið ðé *gelic*. (I have not met any like unto thee.)

Given that the preposition *to* became the most frequent variant in the ME period, it is surprising that there were no occurrences of this preposition in the OE corpus

The scarcity of prepositions in the YCOE corpus suggests that *gelic* was predominantly transitive in Old English. Therefore, it did not yet require the support of prepositions to introduce the NP complements, since adjectives still had inflectional endings which fulfilled this linking function. The low frequency of prepositions in the OE period was anticipated. Nevertheless, it is the ME corpus that should contain a greater variety of prepositions in combination with *like*.

5.1.9.2. Middle English

In Maling’s view (1983), Middle English is considered to be a period when *like* temporarily became intransitive, that is to say, it required a preposition in front of its complement. Due to its uncertain categorial status, the presence of prepositions functioned as an ‘anchor’ of its

adjectivehood. A variety of prepositions emerged as an alternative to a direct NP complement. Visser (1963: 327) points out that it was during the Middle Ages “when the rivalry between the two constructions may have been at its tightest”. The ME period together with the EME period seemed to be the heyday of intransitive *like*, as the frequency of prepositions in combination with *like* declined afterwards. Out of 232 instances of *like* in the PPCME2 corpus, there were 95 occurrences, in which *like* was followed by a preposition. These examples form approximately 41% out of the ME sample.

As regards the frequency of individual prepositions, *to* occurred with the highest frequency (69 instances), as illustrated in Table 12.

<i>Preposition</i>	<i>M1</i>	<i>M2</i>	<i>M3</i>	<i>M4</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>To</i>	-	17	46	6	69
<i>Vn-to/vnto/unto/on-to</i>	-	1	2	12	-
<i>Till/til/tyl/vn-till</i>	-	3	2	-	-
<i>in</i>	-	-	4	-	-

Table 12. Distribution of the prepositions in the ME period

As can be seen in example (101), the NP complement of *like* (*Crist*) is introduced via the preposition *to*. The presence of a preposition behind *like* seems to suggest that its categorial status is more adjectival than prepositional here.

(101) for he was soo *lyke* to Crist

The following table (13) also shows that *like* followed by *to* occurred almost exclusively in East Midlands texts. There seems to be no obvious reason for this unequal distribution and it is beyond the scope of this study to examine it further.

<i>Dialect</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	
		<i>.pm.</i>
<i>East Midlands</i>	63	94.74
<i>Southern</i>	2	12.96
<i>West Midlands</i>	4	10.47

Table 13. Distribution of the preposition *to* in combination with *like*

Amongst the other prepositions, we can find the forms of *unto* (14 instances), *till* (4 instances) and *in* (4 instances) and individual instances of complex prepositions such as *vn-till* and *on-to*. All of these prepositions are equally distributed across all of the periods³¹.

Variation is an essential concomitant of grammaticalization. The comparison of *like to* and *like* when followed by a personal pronoun (ex. 102) showed that *like to (PRO)* was used almost exclusively in the M2 sub-period as can be seen in Table 14. However, there were no instances of *like to (PRO)* in the M4 sub-period. The M3 sub-period, on the other hand, exhibited relatively equal distribution of the two variants. There seems to be no stylistic difference between these two alternatives, as both occur predominantly in the religious writing in the PPCME2 corpus.

(102) that noon among kingis was *lyk* him in alle daies bifore

	<i>M2</i>	<i>M3</i>	<i>M4</i>
<i>Like to (PRO)</i>	12	14	-
<i>Like (PRO)</i>	1	10	6

Table 14. Distribution of *like to* and *like* in front of a pronoun

The following table (15) shows a similar distribution of nominal complements between *like to* and *like* to the instances in which the personal pronouns were complements. The instances in the M3 sub-period are comparable with the two variants being almost equally distributed when governing a noun.

³¹ Just like in OE, the ME sample also contained instances of *like* followed by a preposition, which was part of adverbial phrases.

	M2	M3	M4
<i>Like to (N)</i>	3	11	-
<i>Like (N)</i>	-	10	6

Table 15. Distribution of *like to* and *like* in front of a noun

(103) he shal ben *liche* to God in Goddes chosen

(104) it is *lyk* deeth for the horrible angwissh

The above examples illustrate *like* governing a NP complement, via a preposition (103) or without one (104). Interestingly all 6 instances of nouns referring to holy entities or biblical characters (*God*, *Crist* and *Judas*) were introduced by *like to*.

Even though the *Oxford English Dictionary* considers all of the intransitive uses of *like* to be archaic in PDE, the emergence of prepositions played an essential role in helping stabilize the position of the complement behind *like*. Essentially, it can be argued that the emergence of prepositions following *like* in the ME period is a consequence of the categorial ambiguity of *like*. Analogy with the other adjectives that require a preposition to introduce a complement could have played a role as well.

5.1.10. *Like* in phrases

Three syntactic constructions were retrieved from the two corpora to observe the behavior of *like* in expressions in which the context seems to have prevented their reanalysis into a preposition. Essentially, they all represent the last contexts in which *like* is unambiguously adjectival. They also conform to the ME syntax, which relied on analytical structures rather than synthetic inflections. Three fixed expressions under analysis were the following:

- As like as
- Likewise³²
- In like manner

³² *Likely*, as an adverb referring to the similarity, was blocked due to the emergence of its other sense of probability in ME.

5.1.10.1. Old English

In Old English, the instances of these constructions are considerably less numerous. Despite the fact that Visser (1963: 925-6) mentions “*swa gelíc swa*” as a common OE colligation, the search in the YCOE corpus did not yield any results. Nevertheless, *gelíc* was found to co-occur with an adverb *swa* which was positioned in front of *gelíc*. The fact that the aforementioned construction was not found does not mean that the construction “*swa ADJ swa*” did not occur in the YCOE corpus at all. There were 150 instances of this expression, with “*swa mihtig swa*”, “*swa hwite swa*” or “*swa hat swa*” being the most frequent ones.

Another construction with *like* that is relatively frequent in PDE and could give us some insight into the behavior of *like* as an adjective is *in like wise*. Based on the corpus findings, it had not yet been lexicalized in the periods under observation, since its constituents remained separate. There was only one instance in the YCOE corpus when an adjectival *gelíc* modified a noun *wise*, as illustrated in example 105.

(105) *Pisum ealdum wundrum gelamp in urum dagum gelíc wise*

The PDE paraphrase would be: “*With these old wonders it happened in our days likewise*”. While the expression does not yet function as a unit, the adjacency of the two words provides the perfect conditions for their unification in the latter stages of English. The OE meaning seems to correspond to the PDE one.

As regards “in like manner”, there were no instances of this phrase in the YCOE corpus, since the word *manner* did not emerge until the later periods, i.e. the year 1225 (OED).

5.1.10.2. Middle English

There were no occurrences of the complete phrase “as like as” in the PPCME2 corpus. Nevertheless, there is one instance when *like* introduces a noun phrase “the develes child” and is positioned between *so* and *as*.

(106) *Ther is nothyng so lyk the develes child as he that ofte chideth.*

However, both of the constituents do not have to be always expressed, as illustrated in (107) where the second *as* is missing.

(107) Than sir Terquyn seyde, 'Thou art the byggyst man that ever I mette withall, and the beste-brethed, and as *lyke* one knyght that I hate abovyn all other knyghtes.

Despite the fact that “gelíc wise” occurred only once in the OE corpus, it still represents an essential link to its ME cognate. Compared to the OE period, the phrase was relatively common in the ME period with the frequency of 8 hits. All instances come from the last period of the ME corpus (M4) which is in accordance with the *Oxford English Dictionary* data. One half of the examples were prepositional phrases as illustrated in (108). The rest of the extracted examples were prepositionless (109).

(108) *In lyke wyse* dyde ye to hym also of the fatte vlycche of bacon

(109) and *lyke wyse* as the people under Moyses growynge in childehode

In 4 instances, the phrase is followed by *as*, functioning as a conjunction (110). It should also be noted that all instances with *in* come from the same genre, i.e. fiction,

(110) And *in lyke wyse* as she saide so they departed

While the MED lists quotations from the ME period when parts of the phrase were already spelled together, the search in the PPCME2 did not yield any instances of the fully lexicalized adverb, i.e. *likewise*.

The OED lists as the earliest example of “like manner” a quotation from the 1384 version of *The Wycliffite Bible*. In the latter version of the Bible, the expression includes the preposition *in* which, later became part of the fixed expression, as illustrated in (111).

(111) He sente other seruauntis and *liche maner* [*a1425 L.V. in lijk maner, L. similiter*] thei diden to hem. (OED)

Unlike in the case of “in like wise”, all instances of “in like manner” occurred with the preposition *in*, as illustrated in (112). The phrase was also less frequent, with only 6 occurrences in the ME corpus. All of the instances come from the M3 and M4 sub-periods (see Table 16).

(112) and dedyn *in lyk maner* to Og the kyng of Basan

A comparison of two synonymous phrases reveals that “like manner” and “like wise” emerged around the same time and gradually gained ground in the EME period. “Like manner”, nevertheless, seems to become obsolescent in the course of the EME period. The phrase “in like

wise” was eventually substituted by the lexicalized adverb *likewise* which was first attested in 1443 (OED).

Fixed phrase	M1	M2	M3	M4
As like as	-	-	1	1
In like wise	-	-	-	8
In like manner	-	-	5	1

Table 16. Distribution of the fixed phrases containing *like* in the ME period

5.2. Discussion

As the previous sections have shown, not all of the adjectival properties of *like* have been affected by the categorial change to the same extent. The following table (17) shows which parameters of adjectivehood, established in the theoretical part and evaluated in the analytical part, were retained and which were lost in the ME period. As a result of grammaticalization, *like* also shed the restrictions on its distribution and started to be used in a broader range of contexts in which adjectives do not typically occur. The following table (17) summarizes the evidence extracted from the YCOE and the PPCME2 corpus.

<i>Parameter</i>		<i>Old English</i>	<i>Middle English</i>
1.	<i>Syntactic function: attributive</i>	YES	Mostly in fixed phrases
	<i>:predicative</i>	YES	YES
2.	<i>Gradation: synthetic</i>	YES	NO
	<i>: periphrastic</i>	NO	YES
3.	<i>Degree modifier</i>	YES	YES
4.	<i>Verbs copular</i>	Mostly TO BE	YES
	<i>Lexical</i>	NO	SOME
5.	<i>Inflections</i>	YES	NO
6.	<i>Fixed position</i>	NO	YES
7.	<i>Coordination</i>	YES	YES
8.	<i>Position of the determiner</i>	-	Follows <i>like</i>
9.	<i>Presence of the prepositions</i>	SOME	YES
10.	<i>Fixed phrases</i>	SOME	YES

Table 17. Comparison of the parameters

Table 17 provides a summary of the findings by contrasting the OE period with the ME period for each of the parameters. The relative significance of these parameters can be classified into three groups. These developments either affected the whole category of adjectives or happened exclusively in the case of *like* or persisted in *like* even after its reanalysis into a preposition.

Related to the overall typological change of English are the following criteria: the loss of inflections (parameter 5), fixed position (parameter 6) and the substitution of synthetic comparatives and superlatives with periphrastic forms (parameter 2). While all of these changes certainly had some influence on grammaticalization, they are not confined to *like*. Therefore, the three aforementioned criteria alone cannot have accounted for the categorial change of *like*.

Other changes such as the restriction of distribution of *like* in the attributive position (parameter 1) and the expansion of inventory of verbs (parameter 4) are unique to development of *like* and

seemed to have played an essential role in its grammaticalization. Therefore, these transitions may be considered emblematic of this particular type of language change.

The attribute of gradability (parameter 2) and the capacity to take degree modifiers (parameter 3) did not prove to be crucial in the reanalysis of *like* from an adjective into a preposition, since *like* continues to possess the semantic attribute of gradability. The persistence of this feature can be attributed to the scalar notion of similarity. The ability to coordinate with other adjectives (parameter 7) likewise seems to be more related to the functions of the members of the coordination rather than to the categorial status of *like*.

The data in Table 17 show that *gelic* had all the characteristics of a prototypical adjective in Old English. The evidence from Middle English, on the other hand, shows that *like* has lost some of its adjectival parameters and instances of the more prepositional as well as the adjectival *like* were often found within the same text or time period. This layering of functions is an essential prerequisite for the change of categorial status.

6. Conclusion

With the help of historical corpora, this thesis aimed to trace the process of grammaticalization of the adjective *like* into a preposition during two stages of English, i.e. Old and Middle English. The fact that grammaticalization began on the verge of the late OE period and the beginning of the ME period when English was undergoing typological change is no coincidence. The development of the prepositional use of *like* correlates with the general pattern of the enrichment of the English system of prepositions, since a lot of prepositions emerged during this time. In the exclusively adjectival function, OE *gelic* referred to entities that had similar qualities. While undergoing grammaticalization, *like* extended its original meaning of expressing similar qualities to include the grammatical relation between two entities which are similar.

The aim of this thesis was to investigate grammaticalization of *like* from a variety of perspectives. The parameters of adjectivehood were established to help determine the extent of grammaticalization. The findings show that the individual parameters closely correlate with each other and cannot be detached from one another. For example, the capacity for gradability correlates with the ability to take degree modifiers. The loss of inflections is related to the increasingly fixed word order. The relation between *like* and its complement is made explicit via a preposition.

The earliest evidence of the initial stages of grammaticalization can be traced back to the end of the Old English period and the beginning of the Middle English period when *gelic* was losing its inflectional endings. It was not possible to pinpoint the exact time when grammaticalization had been initiated, yet it is undeniable that it has continued unabated since the OE period. First attested as an adjective, *gelic* gained ground as a preposition especially in the predicative function where it is positioned between the verb and NP complement, a position typical for prepositions. The use of the grammaticalized preposition was consequently extended to other contexts such as other linking lexical verbs which would have been incompatible with the adjectival *like*.

In fact, it was the capacity of *like* to take NP complements without a preposition that played an essential role in its development into a preposition. A similar development can be observed in other English transitive adjectives such as *worth* or *near* which were also positioned adjacent to their NP complements. Interestingly, this transition can be observed in the corresponding words in other Germanic languages such as Swedish. While in Old English transitive adjectives (e.g.

neáh) were of frequent occurrence, the scarcity of transitive adjectives in Middle English caused that the last members of this class of adjectives either began to take prepositional complements or underwent grammaticalization into prepositions.

During the ME period, the relation between *like* and the NP complement was realized via a preposition rather than an inflectional ending. However, the construction *like* + *preposition* did not persist in the language and eventually became obsolete. Whether the presence of a preposition following *like* would have halted the process of grammaticalization which was already underway is beyond the scope of this work.

Regarding gradability, *like* continued to occur in comparative and superlative forms after its grammaticalization into a preposition. This should not be considered evidence against its prepositional status. *Like*, both as an adjective and a preposition, denotes resemblance between two entities. The notion of similarity is inherently a scalar property, since two items can be *like* one another to a higher or lower degree.

Assuming that the two corpora, the YCOE and the PPCME2 corpus, are considered to be the representative samples of language in the OE and ME period respectively, the evidence should accurately reflect the process of language change. Nevertheless, some of the constructions that were not found in the corpora are recorded in other resources such as the *Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, *Middle English Dictionary* or *Oxford English Dictionary*. While the frequency of occurrence is often assigned a key role in grammaticalization, the relative numbers of occurrence for each of the OE and ME sub-periods do not provide a revealing insight into the change of frequencies due to the unequal distribution of texts.

The problem of syntactic ambiguity should also be addressed here. It is a well-known fact that part-of-speech tagging is not a completely accurate mechanism. It poses a challenge especially when analyzing ambiguous words such as *like* which are undergoing change of category and thus acquiring new grammatical attributes.

All of the material under observation was acquired after restricting the query to those instances when *like* was tagged as an adjective or a preposition. While in Old English adjectival uses of *gelic* predominate, the Middle English corpus contained instances of *like* which were behaving more like prepositions, in spite of being tagged as adjectives.

The corpus data certainly proved the existence of the phenomenon of layering in relation to the coexistence of the adjectival and prepositional uses of *like* in the course of several stages of English. Compared to the OE period, *like* became more restricted in its distribution as an adjective in Middle English. On the other hand, the contexts in which it fulfilled a prepositional function expanded during the Middle English and this development continued in the Early Modern English period. In all probability, the speaker of Present Day English does not even recognize the adjectival use of *like*.

ZHRNUTIE

Témou diplomovej práce sú procesy a mechanizmy spojené s gramatikalizáciou slova *like* z prídavného mena na predložku v období medzi koncom starej angličtiny a začiatkom strednej angličtiny, keďže táto jazyková zmena prebehla z veľkej časti práve v tomto období. *Gellic*, staroanglický variant *like*, bol v období starej angličtiny prototypickým prídavným menom, ale zásluhou gramatikalizácie postupne stratil atribúty typické pre adjektíva a začal sa vyskytovať v kontextoch charakteristických pre predložky.

Like sa v modernej angličtine vyskytuje okrem vyššie spomenutých slovných druhov taktiež aj ako spojka, ktorá je takisto výsledkom gramatikalizácie. *Like* ako sloveso ale patrí do samostatného etymologického vývoja. Výskyt tej istej formy vo viacerých funkciách je častý úkaz v angličtine, ktorá ako analytický jazyk má len minimum koncoviek, ktoré by odlišovali jednotlivé slovné druhy.

Zaradenie slov do jednotlivých slovných druhov nie je vždy jednoznačný proces. Okrem prototypických členov môžeme v slovných druhoch nájsť aj slová, ktorým mnohé typické atribúty chýbajú alebo naopak sa skôr správajú ako iné slovné druhy. Hranice medzi jednotlivými slovnými druhmi sú teda často nejednoznačné a preto pri analýze niektorých slov, ako napríklad slova *like* počas gramatikalizácie je lepšie ho chápať v rámci kontinua:

Like s prevažne adjektívnymi atribútmi → *like* aj s adjektívnymi aj s predložkovými atribútmi → *like* s prevažne predložkovými atribútmi.

Teoretická časť definuje gramatikalizáciu podľa Hoppera a Traugottovej (2003) ako postupnú zmenu plnovýznamového slova na slovo neplnovýznamové s tým, že tento proces je chápaný ako jednosmerný. Táto práca sa zameriava na jednotlivé procesy spojené s gramatikalizáciou, ktoré sú relevantné v procese reanalýzy slova *like* z prídavného mena na predložku ako na reanalýzu, analógiu, dekategoriáciu a stratu lexikálneho významu. S gramatikalizáciou súvisí aj proces „layering“, t. j. koexistencia menej a viac gramatikalizovaných foriem toho istého slova, ktorá je spôsobená tým, že gramatikalizácia je proces postupný a v niektorých prípadoch trvá dlhé časové úseky alebo pripadne nikdy nie je ukončená. Práve súčasný výskyt prípadov, keď bolo *like* viac adjektívne a tých, keď bolo viac predložkové je predmetom tejto práce.

Ďalším procesom spojeným s gramatikalizáciou je „renewal“, teda objavenie slov s obdobným významom ako pôvodné plnovýznamové slovo pred gramatikalizáciou. Tieto slová môžu byť etymologicky príbuzné ako napríklad *likely* alebo *alike* alebo môžu byť prevzaté z iných jazykov ako prídavné meno *similar*, ktoré je francúzskeho pôvodu. Všetky tieto prídavné mená vyjadrujúce podobnosť sa objavili práve v období, keď status *like* bol značne neistý. *Likely*, ako prídavné meno vyjadrujúce podobnosť, sa už ale v modernej angličtine nevyskytuje, keďže sa začalo používať s významom pravdepodobnosti, a práve ten zrejme zablokoval jeho predošlý význam. Druhý kognát *like*, *alike* je stále používaný, ale len v predikatívnej funkcii. *Similar*, ako jediné z trojice, má neobmedzenú distribúciu a vyskytuje sa aj atributívne aj predikatívne.

Like ako prídavné meno vyjadrovalo podobnosť medzi dvoma entitami, a práve tento význam slúžil ako základ pre jeho využitie vo funkcii predložky, keďže práve slovný druh predložiek vyjadruje spojenie medzi vetnými členmi vo vete. Analyzovaná zmena slovného druhu nie je jedinečná pre anglický jazyk, ale ako tvrdia Heine a Kuteva (2002), podobným spôsobom prebehla aj v iných jazykoch, ako napríklad v nemčine.

Táto časť takisto analyzuje *like* z diachrónneho a synchronného hľadiska, s dôrazom na kategóriu tranzitívnych prídavných mien, ktorých *like* bolo súčasťou. Tranzitívne prídavné mená, ako *near*, *like* alebo *worth*, sú špecifické schopnosťou pripájať doplnok v datíve bez pomoci predložky. Vzťah medzi týmto prídavným menom a jeho doplnkom je vyjadrený adjektívnymi koncovkami. Na rozdiel od starej angličtiny, keď ich počet bol podstatne vyšší, sa v modernej angličtine väčšinou nenachádzajú alebo je ich kategoriálny status nejednoznačný. V mnohých prípadoch sa tieto tranzitívne adjektíva stali intranzitívnymi, t. j. doplnok sa k nim pripájal pomocou predložky, čo mohlo byť spôsobené typologickou zmenou angličtiny zo syntetického jazyka na analytický jazyk. Táto trieda prídavných mien ale nie je špecifická pre starú angličtinu a vyskytovala sa aj v iných germánskych jazykoch ako švédčina alebo nemčina a dokonca sa v nich v súčasnosti aj v obmedzenom počte vyskytuje.

Teoretická časť ďalej popisuje 10 parametrov, ktoré boli následne použité v praktickej časti na analýzu získanej vzorky s dôrazom na určenie, ktoré použitie *like* bolo viac adjektívne a ktoré bolo viac predložkové. Prvým parametrom je schopnosť slova *like* vyskytovať sa bez obmedzenia v predikatívnej a takisto aj v atributívnej syntaktickej funkcii. Práve v atributívnej pozícii sa predložky nemôžu vyskytovať a teda sa predpokladalo, že frekvencia výskytu

atributívneho *like* poklesla v období medzi starou a strednou angličtinou. Druhým skúmaným parametrom bola schopnosť stupňovania *like*, keďže sa predpokladalo, že predložky túto schopnosť nemajú a naopak prídavné mená sa vyskytujú vo flektívnej alebo analytickej forme. S druhým parametrom súvisí aj tretí parameter, ktorý bol zameraný na výskyt slova *like* s príslovkovými určeniami miery, ktorého podmienkou je schopnosť stupňovania slova. Súčasný výskyt slova *like* s určitými triedami slovies bol štvrtým parametrom. Predpokladom bolo, že *like* ako prídavné meno sa bude vyskytovať len so slovesom *to be*, keďže predikatívne prídavné mená sa vyskytujú práve v tomto kontexte. Počas gramatikalizácie sa ale začalo vyskytovať s inými sponovými a plnovýznamovými slovesami. Piaty parameter skúmal stratu koncoviek prídavných mien medzi koncom starej a začiatkom strednej angličtiny. Tento parameter sa týka všetkých staroanglických prídavných mien. V šiestom parametri sa kládol dôraz na slovosled, ktorý bol na rozdiel od starej angličtiny značne stabilizovaný v strednej angličtine, hlavne na pozíciu *like* vzhľadom k doplnku, ktorá bola značne variabilnejšia v starej angličtine. Koordinácia s inými jednoznačne adjektívnymi slovami bola predmetom siedmeho parametru. Predpokladom bolo, že *like* ako prídavné meno sa bude vyskytovať v koordinácii len s inými prídavnými menami. Pozícia určitých a neurčitých členov vzhľadom k *like* sa analyzovala v ôsmom parametri. Pri adjektívnom *like* by mala byť pozícia členov pred týmto slovom, kým predložkové *like* by malo byť v pozícii pred členmi. V deviatom parametri sa skúmal výskyt slova *like* s inými predložkami, t. j. ako doplnok vyjadrený predložkovou frázou. Hlavne počas obdobia strednej angličtiny sa začali doplnky pripájať k *like* pomocou predložky, ktorá pravdepodobne slúžila ako ochrana adjektívneho statusu *like* v období, kedy predložkové použitie *like* prevažovalo. Posledný desiaty parameter analyzoval *like* v rámci ustálených fráz ako „*as like as*“, „*in like manner*“, a „*in like wise*“, v ktorých je adjektívne *like* v ustrnutom stave. Práve tieto frázy ochránili *like* pred reanalýzou na predložku.

Na základe teoretickej časti sa sformulovali nasledovné parametre, pomocou ktorých sa analyzovali jednotlivé výskyty *like*:

1. výskyt v predikatívnej aj v atributívnej funkcii,
2. stupňovanie, a to buď vo flektívnej alebo analytickej forme,
3. modifikovateľnosť s príslovkovým určením miery,
4. výskyt so sponovými a plnovýznamovými slovesami,

5. strata všetkých koncoviek,
6. pozícia pred nominálnou frázou,
7. výskyt v koordinácii s inými prídavnými menami,
8. pozícia člena pred alebo za *like*,
9. doplnok pripojený pomocou predložky,
10. súčasť ustálenej frázy.

V empirickej časti sa analyzovalo 371 prípadov použitia staroanglickej formy *like*, ktoré boli získané z korpusu *The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose* (YCOE) a 232 prípadov použitia stredoanglickej formy *like* nájdených v korpuse *The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, second edition* (PPCME2). Keďže v období starej angličtiny bolo *gelic* skloňované podľa pádu, rodu a čísla, museli byť všetky tieto formy vzaté do úvahy. V strednej angličtine došlo k značnej destabilizácii pravopisu a museli sa zohľadňovať všetky varianty *like*. Vzorka sa skúmala tak z morfológického ako aj zo syntaktického hľadiska. Podľa predpokladu, zistenia v staroanglickom korpuse v porovnaní so stredoanglickým korpusom odhalili pokročilejšiu etapu gramatikalizácie. I napriek tomu, že všetky príklady boli označené v oboch korpusoch ako prídavné mená, analýza jednotlivých výskytov ukázala, že niektoré sa vyskytujú v kontextoch príznačných pre predložky.

Výsledky analýzy potvrdili mnohé predpoklady formulované v teoretickej časti. Pri niektorých parametroch sa v korpuse ale žiadne výskyty nenašli, i keď v iných zdrojoch ako *Oxford English Dictionary* sú tieto výskyty dokumentované.

Analýza ukázala, že skutočne došlo k obmedzeniu distribúcie *like* v atributívnej funkcii, keďže v porovnaní so starou angličtinou sa zoznam podstatných mien, ktoré *like* modifikovali podstatne zúžil. Kým v starej angličtine to boli podstatné mená z náboženskej alebo botanickej terminológie, v strednej angličtine boli väčšinou nájdené len podstatné mená so všeobecnejším významom. Teda došlo k zúženiu distribúcie.

Výsledky takisto ukázali, že zatiaľ čo v starej angličtine boli formy komparatívne aj superlatívne flektívne, v strednej angličtine sa nachádzali len analytické formy. Záver ale je, že *like* zostala schopnosť stupňovania i ako predložky.

Výskyt s príslovkovými určeniami miery taktiež ukázal, že *like* nestratilo schopnosť stupňovania ani ako predložka, keďže sa s týmito príslovkami vyskytovalo aj v starej aj v strednej angličtine.

Vo výsledkoch zo starej angličtiny jednoznačne dominovalo sloveso *to be*, výskyt s ktorým je pre prídavne mena typický. Naopak v strednej angličtine došlo k rozšíreniu distribúcie, ako sa predpokladalo, a *like* sa vyskytlo aj s inými sponovými slovesami ako *appear*, *seem* alebo *look*. Vzorka taktiež obsahovala niektoré nedynamické slovesá ako *array*, *shape* alebo *lay*, ktoré sa vyskytli s *like* v skorších obdobiach ako *far*, *go* alebo *hurtle*, ktoré mali význam skôr nedynamický, okrem *array*, ktoré bolo najdynamickejšie zo vzorky slovies.

Vzorka taktiež potvrdila eróziu koncoviek prídavných mien, keďže na rozdiel od starej angličtiny, sa v strednej angličtine žiadne nenašli. Nulový výskyt flektovaných tvarov v strednej angličtine, ale môže byť daný výberom korpusu alebo zadaním.

Výsledky takisto potvrdili, že stabilizovanie slovosledu spôsobilo, že *like* sa ustálilo v pozícii pred podstatným menom, takisto ako ostatné prídavné mená, čo spôsobilo vhodné podmienky pre jeho gramatikalizáciu na *like*.

Počet koordinácií s *like* bol skutočne malý či už v staroanglickom alebo v stredoanglickom období. Napriek tomu bol výskyt preukázaný v oboch obdobiach.

Pozícia členov taktiež ukázala, že vo väčšine prípadov sa *like* nachádzalo pred členmi, teda v pozícii príznačnej pre predložky.

Analýza pripojenie doplnku k *like* pomocou *like* ukázala, že sa skutočne stalo intranzitívnym počas obdobia strednej angličtiny a pripájalo doplnky väčšinou pomocou predložky *to* ale aj *unto*, *in* alebo *till*. V modernej angličtine sú všetky tieto spojenia považované za archaické.

Analytická časť sa taktiež zaoberala frázami, ktorých súčasťou je *like*. Práve v týchto frázach zostalo *like* vo funkcii prídavného mena. Korpusy neobsahovali skoro žiadne prípady kompletného spojenia “*as like as*”, ale v mnohých prípadoch chýbala jedna zo spojok *as*. Druhé dve frázy, “*in like manner*” a “*in like wise*”, ktoré majú podobný význam sa vyskytovali vo väčších počtoch. Pri “*in like wise*” následne prebehla lexikalizácia, proces opačný gramatikalizácii, na príslovku *likewise*, ktorá ale v korpusoch nebola nájdená. Kým fráza “*in like wise*” sa vyskytla aj bez predložky *in*, fráza “*in like manner*” bola vo všetkých prípadoch s predložkou.

Zatiaľ čo niektoré zo zmien nie sú špecifické pre *like* a ovplyvnili aj iné staroanglické prídavné mená (strata koncoviek, stabilná pozícia a výskyt analytických foriem prirovnania), ďalšia zmena, ako napríklad obmedzenie distribúcie *like* v atributívnej funkcii je výsledkom gramatikalizácie prídavného mena na predložku. Rozšírenie zoznamu slovies, ktoré sa spájajú s *like*, je takisto špecifické pre vývoj predložky *like* z adjektíva a teda dokazujú vyšší stupeň gramatikalizácie v strednej angličtine v porovnaní so starou angličtinou. V procese gramatikalizácie sa nepreukázala zmena pri parametroch stupňovania a výskytu s príslovkovými určeními miery, keďže predložka *like* sa taktiež dá stupňovať. Pretrvávajúca funkcia tejto funkcie možno pripísať skalárnej podstate významu podobnosti. Schopnosť koordinovať sa s inými adjektívami sa taktiež nepreukázala byť ovplyvnená zmenou kategoriálneho statusu *like*, keďže v oboch porovnávaných obdobiach sa *like*, v tejto pozícii nachádzalo, i keď ich počet bol malý. Stabilizovanie slovosledu a pozícia *like* vzhľadom k členom taktiež ukázali, že *like* sa ustálilo v pozícii príznačnej pre predložky. Výskyt ustálených fráz bol v oboch korpusoch veľmi malý a je ťažko na základe obmedzených výskytov dôjsť k jednoznačnému záveru.

Vo väčšine prípadov mali jednotlivé príklady *like* aj adjektívne aj predložkové atribúty alebo sa vyskytovali v textoch, kde bolo *like* použité aj vo funkcii prídavného mena aj predložky, čo je spôsobené procesom „layering“, ktorý je typický pre gramatikalizáciu, keďže je to postupná zmena.

Záverom je vhodné povedať, že analýza skutočne potvrdila prebiehajúcu zmenu slovného druhu pri slove *like* z prídavného mena na predložku. Kombináciou obmedzení kontextov typických pre prídavné mená a rozšírenie tých predložkových sa koncom strednej angličtiny postupne stávala z *like* predložka. Tento proces ale samozrejme pokračoval v skorej rannej angličtine a i v modernej angličtine je niekoľko konštrukcií ako „people of like mind“ a iné ustálené frázy, v ktorých je *like* jednoznačne adjektívne. Naopak *similar* a *alike*, ktoré sú produktami procesu *renewal*, sú frekvenčne používané v modernej angličtine. Zatiaľ čo *alike* je v obmedzenej distribúcii, *similar* je v modernej angličtine prakticky bez reštrikcie, teda môže byť považované za ekvivalent staroanglického *gelic*, i keď na rozdiel od neho uvádza doplnok pomocou predložky *to*.

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